

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
UNDER
PETER THE GREAT.

BY
M DE VOLTAIRE,
IN TWO VOLUMES.

V O L. II.

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THE Russian empire is now become so considerable in Europe, that the history of Peter, its real founder, is thereby rendered still more interesting. This prince gave a new face to the north, and, after his decease, we have seen his nation on the point of changing the fate of Germany, and extending its influence over France and Spain, notwithstanding the immense distance of those kingdoms.

The establishment of this empire forms perhaps the most considerable æra in the annals of Europe, next to that of the discovery of the new world: and it is this consideration alone, which induces the author of the first part of the history of Peter the Great, to present the public with the second.

The title of *small* may be continued to the country of Oremburg, because that government is in effect small in comparison of Siberia, on which it borders. For *the skin of a sheep*, which several travellers affirm to be worshipped by the Ostiacks, may be substituted that of *a bear*: for if these honest people are supposed to pay divine worship to a thing, because it is useful to them, the fur of a bear is certainly a greater object of adoration with them than a sheep's skin; but he must surely wear an ass's skin, who would lay any stress on such trifling anecdotes.

Whether the barks built by the czar Peter I. were or were not called *half galleys*, or whether this prince lived at first in a wooden house, or in one built of brick, will, I believe, be thought an article of very little importance.

There are, however, some things more deserving the attention of a judicious reader. It is said

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for instance in the first part, that the inhabitants of Kuntthaka have no religion amongst them; but from certain memorials of a later date, I learn that this savage people have their divines as well as we, who make the inhabitants of this peninsula to be descended from a superior being, whom they call *Kouthou*. These memorials likewise assert, that they pay no worship to this deity, and express neither love nor fear for him.

Hence it appears, that though they have a mythology, yet they have no religion; this may be true, but it is not very probable. Fear is one of the natural attributes of man. It is said, over and above, that, in the midst of their absurdities, they make a distinction of things allowed, and things forbidden; among the former, they reckon the indulging all the passions; and, among the latter, the sharpening a knife or an hatchet while they are travelling, or the saving a person from drowning: but if it is held a sin by these people, to save the life of a fellow creature when in danger, they are in that respect certainly different from all other people in the world, who instinctively fly to the assistance of each other, when interest and passion does not get the better of their natural inclination. One would imagine, that they could never have thought of making an action criminal, which in itself is so common and necessary, that it is even meritorious, but by a philosophy equally false and superstitious, which would inculcate, that we are not in any thing to oppose destiny, and that no one ought to save a man whom God has pre-ordained to be drowned: but these barbarians have not the least knowlege even of a false philosophy; and yet we are told, that they celebrate a great feast which they call by a word, which in their language

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signifies *purification*: but from what have they to purify themselves, if they hold every thing to be allowed? and *to* what, if they neither fear nor love their god *Knu-hou*?

Their notions are, doubtless, in many respects contradictory, as are indeed those of almost every other people; with this difference, that theirs arise from a want of understanding, ours from an abuse of it. We abound much more in contradictions, because we are much greater reasoners.

As they acknowledge a kind of God, so they have also their evil spirits. Lastly, they have sorcerers and magicians amongst them, as there have always been amongst all nations, even the most civilized. In *Kimthutka*, old women are looked upon to be witches, as they were amongst us, till we had attained to a clearer knowledge of natural knowledge. Hence, we find, it has ever been the lot of human understanding, to entertain absurd notions, founded on our curiosity and on our weakness. The people of *Kimthutka* have also their prophets, who explain their dreams; and it is not long since we had such amongst us.

After the court of Russia had subjected these people, by building five fortresses in their country, they instituted the christian religion of the Greek church amongst them. A Russian gentleman, perfectly well acquainted with these people, informed me, that one of their greatest objections to receiving it was, that they were certain it could not be instituted for them, in as much as bread and wine were essential parts of our holy rites, whereas they had neither bread nor wine in their country.

In other respects these people merit very little notice. I shall only make one observation in re-

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lation to them, namely, that if we cast our eyes on three-fourths of America, the whole southern part of Africa, and on the north, from Lapland as far as the sea of Japan, we shall find one half of the human race to be very little superior to the people of Kamtihatka.

And here it may be proper to observe to the reader, that the famous geographer De L'Isle calls this country Kamtihat, as the French and Italians generally retrench the *ka* and *kay*, which terminate most of the Russian names.

But there is an article of greater importance, and which may concern the dignity of crowned heads. Olearius who, in 1634, accompanied the envoys of Holstein into Russia and Persia, relates in the third book of his history, that czar Iwan Basilowitz banished the emperor's ambassador into Siberia. This is a fact which I do not know to have found related by any other historian. It is hardly probable that the emperor would have quietly submitted to so extraordinary an insult, and open violation of the laws of nations.

The same Olearius says in another place, "We began our journey in the 13th Feb. 1634, in company with an ambassador from the court of France, called the count of Tallerand, and prince of Chalais, &c. who had been sent by Lewis, together with one James Roussel, on an embassy to Turkey and Muscovy: but his colleague did him so many bad offices with the patriarch of Russia, that the great duke banished him into Siberia."

In the same book he says, that this ambassador, the prince of Chalais, and Roussel his colleague, who was a merchant, were sent as envoys by Henry IV. It is not very likely that Henry IV. who died in 1610, should have sent an embassy to Rus-

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fia in 1634; and if Lewis XIII. had sent as his ambassador, a person of so illustrious a house as that of Tallierand, he would hardly have given him a merchant for his colleague; all Europe would have known of this embassy, and an insult of so singular a nature offered to the king of France would have made still more noise.

I have already disputed this improbable fact, in the first part of this history; but finding that it nevertheless continued to gain some credit, I thought it necessary to search the register of foreign affairs in France, for clearer information on this head; and find that the following incident gave rise to this mistake of Olearius.

There was in fact a person of the family of Tallierand, who, having a great passion for travelling, made a voyage to Turkey, without acquainting his family or his design, or furnishing himself with the necessary letters of recommendation. At the court of Moscow, he met with a Dutch merchant named Roussel, who acted as agent for a company of merchants, and who had a correspondence with the French ministry. With this man the marquis of Tallierand joined company to go on a tour to Persia; but having had some dispute with his fellow traveller by the way, this latter accused him falsely to the patriarch of Moscow; and he was actually banished into Siberia. However, having found means to make his situation known to his family, at the end of about three years, Mr. Des Noyers, secretary of state, obtained his release of the court of Moscow.

Here then we have this story set in its true light, and which would not merit a place in history, but as it may serve to put the reader upon his guard against the multitude of anecdotes of a similar na-

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

ture, with which the relations of most travellers abound.

There are historical errors, and historical falsehoods. This relation of Olearius is only an error, but when we are told, that a czar caused an ambassador's hat to be nailed to his head, that is a falsehood. A writer may be deceived, in regard to the number or force of the ships that compose naval armaments, or in regard to the extent of a country; but these only are errors and of a very pardonable kind. Again, those who repeat the fabulous accounts of antiquity, in which the origin of all nations is enveloped, may be accused of a weakness common to all the writers of old times; but this is not falsifying, it is properly speaking no more than copying tales.

We are also frequently led by inadvertency into faults, which cannot be called falsehoods. For instance, when we read in Hubner's new geography, that the boundaries of Europe are in that place where the river Oby empties itself into the Black sea, and that Europe contains 30 millions of inhabitants: these are inaccuracies, which a reader of any knowledge in history can easily rectify.

The same treatise frequently presents us with large towns strongly fortified and well peopled, which are in reality no other than insignificant villages in a manner uninhabited. But here it is easily perceived that time has totally changed the face of things; that the author has consulted only ancient writers, and that what was matter of fact in their time, ceases to be so at present.

Some writers again are mistaken in the inferences they draw from facts. Peter the Great abolished the patriarchal dignity. Hubner adds that he caused himself to be declared patriarch. Cer-

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tain spurious histories of Russia go still further, and allege, that he officiated in the pontifical character. Thus, from a known fact, they have drawn erroneous conclusions which happen but too frequently.

What I have called by the name of historical falsehoods, is still more common, and is the invention of flattery, or a foolish fondness for the marvellous. The historian who to please a powerful family, prostitutes his pen to praise a tyrant, is a base wretch: he who endeavours to blacken the memory of a good prince, is a villain; and the romancer who publishes the inventions of his own brain, for real facts, is a contemptible creature. The man who in former times made whole nations pay reverence to his fables, would now hardly be read by the meanest of the people.

There are some critics who deal still deeper in falsehood: such are those who alter passages, or else misconstrue them; and who inspired by envy, write with ignorance against works of real utility: but let us leave those vipers to gnaw the file, as the fittest punishment for their invidious labours.

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Vol. II.

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RUSSIAN Empire under PETER the GREAT.

CHAP. I.

Campaign of PRUTH.

SULTAN Achmet III declared war against Peter I. not from any regard to the king of Sweden, but, as may readily be supposed, merely from a view to his own interest. The Khan of the Crim Tartars could not, without dread, behold a neighbour become so powerful as Peter I. The Porte had for some time, taken umbrage at the number of ships which this prince had on the Palus Mæotis, and in the Black Sea, at his fortifying the city of Asoph, and at the flourishing state of the harbour of Taganroc, already become famous; and lastly at his great series of successes, and the ambition which success never fails to augment.

It is neither true, nor even probable, that the Porte should have begun the war against the czar, on the Palus Mæotis, for no other reason than because a Swedish ship had taken a bark on the Baltic, on board of which was found a letter from a minister, whose name has never yet been mentioned. Norberg tells us, that this letter contained a plan for the conquest of the Turkish empire; that it was carried to Charles XII. who was then

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in Turkey, and was by him sent to the Divan; and that, immediately after the receipt of this latter, war was declared, But this story carries the mark of fiction with it. It was the remonstrances of the khan of Tartary, who was more uneasy about the neighbourhood of Asoph, than the Turkish divan, that induced this latter to give orders for taking the field *.

It was in the month of August, and before the czar had completed the reduction of Livonia, when Achmet III. resolved to declare war against him. The Turks, at that time, could hardly have had the news of taking of Riga, and, therefore, the proposal of restoring to the king of Sweden the value in money, of the effects he had lost at the battle of Pultowa, would have been the most absurd thing imaginable, if not exceeded by that of demolishing Petersburg. The behaviour of Charles XII at Bender, was sufficiently romantic;

* The account this chaplain gives of the demands of the Grand Signior is equally false and puerile. He says, that Sultan Achmet, previous to his declaring war against the czar, sent to that prince a paper containing the conditions on which he was willing to grant him peace. These conditions, Norberg tells us, were as follows: "That Peter should renounce his alliance with Augustus, reinstate Stanislaus in the possession of the crown of Poland, restore all Livonia to Charles XII. and pay that prince the value in ready money of what he had taken from him at the battle of Pultowa; and lastly, that the czar should demolish his newly-built city of Petersburg." This piece was forged by one Bazev, a half-starved pamphleteer, and author of a work intitled *Memoirs Satyrical Historical and Entertaining*. It was from this fountain Norberg drew his intelligence: and however he may have been the confessor of Charles XII. he certainly does not appear to have been his confidant,

but the conduct of the Turkish divan would have been much more so, if we suppose it to have made any demands of this kind.

The khan of Tartary, who was the principal instigator of this war, payed Charles a visit in his retreat at Bender †. They were connected by the same interests, inasmuch as Asoph makes part of the frontiers of Little Tartary. Charles and the khan were the two greatest sufferers by the successes of the czar; but the khan did not command the forces of the Grand Signior. He was like one of the feudatory princes, of Germany, who served in the armies of the empire, with their own troops, and were subject to the authority of the emperor's generals for the time being.

The first step taken by the divan *, was to arrest Solitoy, the czar's ambassador at the Porte, in the streets of Constantinople, together with thirty of his domestics, who with their master were all confined in the prison of the Seven Towers. This barbarous custom, at which even savages would blush, is owing to the Turks having always a number of foreign ministers residing amongst them from other courts, whereas they never send any in return. They look upon the ambassadors of the christian princes in no other light than as merchants, or consuls; and having naturally as great a contempt for christians as they have for Jews, they seldom condescend to observe the laws of nations, in respect of them, unless forced to it; at least, they have hitherto persisted in this barbarous pride.

The famous vizir Achmet Caprogli, the same who took the island of Candia, under Mahomet

† Nov. 1710.

* Nov. 29. 1710.

IV. insulted the son of the French ambassador, and even carried his brutality so far as to strike him, and afterwards to confine him in prison, without Lewis XIV. proud and lofty as he was, daring to resent it, otherwise than by sending another minister to the Porte. The christian princes, who are so remarkably delicate on the point of honour amongst themselves, and have even made it a part of the law of nations, seem to be utterly insensible on this head in regard to the Turks.

Never did a crowned head suffer greater affronts in the persons of his ministers, than czar Peter. In the space of a few years his ambassador at the court of London was thrown into jail for debt, his plenipotentiary at the courts of Poland and Saxony was broke upon the wheel, by order of the king of Sweden; and now his minister at the Ottoman Porte was seized and thrown into a dungeon at Constantinople, like a common felon.

We have already observed, in the first part of this history, that he received satisfaction from queen Anne of England, for the insult offered to his ambassador at London. The horrible affront he suffered, in the person of Parkul, was washed away in the blood of the Swedes slain at the battle of Pulhova; but fortune permitted the violation of the laws of nations by the Turks to pass unpunished.

The czar found himself obliged to quit the theatre of war in the west*, and march towards the frontiers of Turkey. He began by causing ten regiments, which he had in Poland, to advance towards Moldavia†. He then ordered marshal

* Jan. 1711

† It is very strange that so many writers always confound Walachia and Moldavia together.

Shermetow to set out from Livonia, with his body of forces, and, leaving prince Menzikoff at the head of affairs at Peteriburg, he returned to Moscow, to give orders for opening the ensuing campaign.

He now establishes a senate of regency †, the regiment of guards begin their march, he issues orders for all the young nobility to follow him to the field, to learn the art of war, and places some of them in the station of cadets, and others in that of subaltern officers. Admiral Apraxin goes to take the command by sea and land. These several measures being taken, the czar publishes an ordonnance in Moscow for acknowledging a new empress. This was the person who had been taken prisoner in Marienburg in the year 1702. Peter had, in 1696, repudiated his wife Eudoxia Lapoukin, by whom he had two children. The laws of his church allow of divorces; but had they not, Peter would have enacted a new law to permit them.

The fair captive of Mairenburg, who had taken the name of Catherine, had a soul superior to her sex and her misfortunes. She rendered herself so agreeable to the czar, that this prince would have her always near his person. She accompanied him in all his excursions, and most fatiguing campaigns; sharing in his toils, and softening his uneasiness by her natural gaiety. and the great attention she shewed to oblige him on all occasions, and the indifference she expressed for the luxury, dress, and other indulgences, of which the generality of her sex are in other countries, wont to make real necessities. She frequently softened the passionate temper of the czar, and by making him more clement and merciful, rendered him more truly great.

† Jan. 17.

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In a word, she became so necessary to him, that he married her privately, in 1707. He had already two daughters by her, and the following year she bore him a third, who was afterwards married to the duke of Holstein *.

The czar made his private marriage known the very day he set out with her to try the fortune of his arms against the Turks †. The several dispositions he had made seemed to promise a successful issue. The hetman of the Cossicks was to keep the Tartars in awe, who had already begun to commit ravages in the Ukraine. The main body of the Russian army was advancing towards Niester, and another body of troops, under prince Galitzin, were in full march through Poland. Every thing went on favourably at the beginning; for Galitzin having met with a numerous body of Tartars near Kiow, who had been joined by some Cossicks and some Poles of king Stanislaus's party, as also a few Swedes, he defeated them entirely, and killed near five thousand men. These Tartars had in their march through the open country, made about ten thousand prisoners. It has been the custom of the Tartars, time immemorial, to carry with them a much greater number of cords than scimitars, in order to bind the unhappy wretches they surprize. The captives were all set free, and those who had made them prisoners were put to the sword. The whole Russian army, if it had been assembled together, would have amounted to sixty thousand men. It was to have been farther augmented by the troops belonging to the king of Poland. This prince, who owed every thing to the czar, came to pay him a visit at Jaro-

* March 17, 1711. † The journal of Peter the Great.

flaw, on the river Sana, the 3d of June 1714, and promised him powerful succours. War was now declared against the Turks, in the name of these two monarchs; but the Polish diet, not willing to break with the Ottoman Porte, refused to ratify the engagement their king had entered into. It was the fate of the czar to have, in the king of Poland, an ally who could never be of any service to him. He entertained the same hopes of assistance from the princes of Moldavia and Walachia, and was, in like manner, disappointed.

These two provinces ought to have taken this opportunity to shake off the Turkish yoke. These countries were those of the ancient Daci, who, together with the Gepidi, with whom they were intermixed, did, for a long time, disturb the Roman empire. They were at length subdued by the emperor Trajan, and Constantine the First made them embrace the Christian religion. Dacia was one of the provinces of the eastern empire, but shortly after, the very people contributed to the ruin of that of the west, by serving under the Odiacres and Theodorics.

They afterwards continued to be subject to the Greek empire, and when the Turks made themselves masters of Constantinople, were governed and oppressed by particular princes; at length, they were totally subjected by the Padicha or Turkish emperor, who now granted them in investiture. The Hospodar or vaivod, chosen by the Ottoman Porte to govern these provinces, is always a Christian of the Greek church. The Turks, by this choice, gave a proof of their toleration, while our ignorant declaimers are accusing them of persecution. The prince nominated by the Porte is tributary to, or rather farms these

countries of the grand seignior; this dignity being always conferred on the best bidder, or him who makes the greatest presents to the vizir, in like manner as the office of Greek patriarch at Constantinople. Sometimes this government is bestowed on a dragoman, that is to say, the interpreter of the divan. These provinces are seldom under the government of the same vaivod, the Porte chusing to divide them, in order to be more sure of retaining them in subjection. Demetrius Cantemir was at this time vaivod of Moldavia. This prince was said to be descended from Tamerlane, because Tamerlane's true name was *Timur*, and Timur was a Tartarian khan; and so, from the name *Tamurkan*, say they, came the family of *Kantemir*.

Bassaraba Brancovan had been invested with the principality of Walachia but had not found any genealogist to deduce his pedigree from the Tartarian conqueror. Cantemir thought the time now come to shake off the Turkish yoke, and render himself independent by means of the czar's protection. In this view he acted in the very same manner with Peter as Mazeppa had done with Charles XII. He even engaged Bassaraba for the present to join him in the conspiracy, of which he hoped to reap all the benefit himself; his plan being to make himself master of both provinces. The bishop of Jerusalem, who was at that time at Walachia, was the soul of this conspiracy. Cantemir promised the czar to furnish him with men and provisions, as Mazeppa did the king of Sweden, and kept his word no better than he had done.

General Scheremetow advanced towards Jassi, the capital of Moldavia, to inspect and occasional-

ly assist the execution of these great projects. Cantemir came thither to meet him, and was received with all the honours due to a prince: but he acted as a prince in no one circumstance, but that of publishing a manifesto against the Turkish empire. The hospodar of Walachia, who soon discovered the ambitious views of his colleague, quitted his party, and returned to his duty. The bishop of Jerusalem dreading, with reason, the punishment due to his perfidy, fled and concealed himself: the people of Walachia and Moldavia continued faithful to the Ottoman Porte, and those who were to have furnished provisions for the Russian army, carried them to the Turks.

The vizir Baltagi Mahomet had already crossed the Danube at the head of 100,000 men, and was advancing towards Jassi, along the banks of the river Pruth (formerly the Hierafus) which falls into the Danube, and which is nearly the boundary of Moldavia and Bassarabia. He then dispatched count Poniatowski, a Polish gentleman, attached to the fortunes of the king of Sweden, to desire that prince to make him a visit and see his army. Charles, whose pride always got the better of his interest, would not consent to this proposal: he insisted, that the grand vizir should make him the first visit, in the asylum near Bender. When Poniatowski returned to the Ottoman camp, and endeavoured to excuse this refusal of his master, the vizir, turning to the khan of the Tartars, said, "This is the very behaviour I expected from this proud pagan." This mutual pride, which never fails of alienating the minds of those in power from each other, did no service to the king of Sweden's affairs; and indeed that prince might have easily perceived from the beginning, that the

Turks were not acting for his interest, but for their own

While the Turkish army was passing the Danube, the czar advanced by the frontiers of Poland, and passed the Boristhenes, in order to relieve Marshal Shermetow, who was then on the banks of the Pruth, to the southward of Jassi, and in danger of being daily surrounded by an army of 10,000 Turks, and an army of Tartars. Peter, before he passed the Boristhenes, was in doubt whether he should expose his beloved Catherine to these dangers which seemed to encrease every day; but Catherine, on her side, looked upon this solicitude of the czar for her ease and safety, as an assent offered to her love and courage, and pressed her comfort so strongly on this head, that he found himself under a necessity to consent that she should pass the river with him. The army beheld her with eyes of joy and admiration, marching on horseback at the head of the troops, for she rarely made use of a carriage. After passing the Boristhenes, they had a tract of desert country to pass through, and then to cross the Bog. and afterwards the river Tiris, now called the Niester, and then another desert to traverse, before they came to the banks of the Pruth. Catherine, during this fatiguing march, animated the whole army by her cheerfulness and affability. She sent refreshments to such of the officers who were sick, and extended her care even to the meanest soldier.

At length the czar brought his army in sight of Jassi *. Here he was to establish his magazine. Basilaraba, the Hospodar of Wallachia, who had again embraced the interest of the Ottoman Porte,

* July. 4 1711.

but still, in appearance, continued a friend to the czar, proposed to this prince to make peace with the Turks, although he had received no commission from the grand visir for that purpose. His deceit, however, was soon discovered, and the czar contented himself with demanding only provisions for his army, which Bissaraba neither would nor could furnish. It was very difficult to procure any supplies from Poland; and these, which prince Cantemir had promised, and which he vainly hoped to procure from Walachia, could not be brought from thence. These disappointments rendered the situation of the Russian army very disagreeable; and, as an addition to their afflictions, they were infected with an immense swarm of locusts, that covered the face of the whole country, and devoured or spoiled every thing where they alighted. They were likewise frequently in want of water during their march through sandy deserts, and beneath a scorching sun: what little they could procure, they were obliged to have brought in vessels to the camp from a considerable distance.

During this dangerous and fatiguing march, the czar, by a single fatality, found himself in the neighbourhood of his rival and competitor Charles, Bender not being above twenty-five leagues from the place where the Russian army was encamped near Juffi. Some parties of Cossacks made excursions even to the place of that unfortunate monarch's retreat; but the Crim Tartars, who hovered round that part of the country, sufficiently secured him from any attempt that might be made to seize his person; and Charles waited in his camp, with impatience and not fear, the issue of the war.

Peter, as soon as he had established some magazines, marched in haste with his army to the right

of the river Pruth. His essential object was to prevent the Turks, who were posted to the left, and towards the head of the river, from crossing it, and marching towards him. This effected, he would then be master of Moldavia and Wallachia. With this view he dispatched general Janus with the van-guard of the army, to oppose the passage of the Turks; but the general did not arrive till they had already begun to cross the river upon their bridges; upon which he was obliged to retreat, and his infantry was closely pursued by the Turks, till the czar came up in person to his assistance.

The grand vizir now marched directly along the river towards the czar. The two armies were very unequal in point of number: that of the Turks, which had been reinforced by the Tartarian troops, consisted of near 250,000 men, while that of the Russians hardly amounted to 37,000. There was indeed a considerable body of troops, headed by general Renne, on their march from the other side of the Moldavian mountains; but the Turks had cut off all communication with those parts.

The czar's army now began to be in want of provisions, nor could, without the greatest difficulty, procure water, though encamped at a very small distance from the river, being exposed to a furious discharge from the batteries, which the grand vizir had caused to be erected on the left side of the river, under the care of a body of troops that kept up a constant fire against the Russians. By this relation, which is circumstantial and true, it appears, that Baltagi Mahomet, the Turkish vizir, far from being the pusillanimous or weak commander which the Swedes have represented him, gave proofs on this occasion that he

perfectly well understood his business. The passing the Pruth in the sight of the enemy, obliging him to retreat; the cutting off all communication between the czar's army, and a body of cavalry that was marching to reinforce it, the hemming in this army, without the least probability of a retreat, and the cutting off all supplies of water and provisions, by keeping it constantly under the check of the batteries on the opposite side of the river, were manœuvres that in no wise bespoke the unexperienced or indolent general.

Peter now saw himself in a situation even worse than that to which he had reduced his rival Charles XII. at Pultowa, being, like him, surrounded by a superior army, and in greater want of provisions, and, like him, having confided in the promises of a prince, too powerful to be bound by those promises: he resolved upon a retreat, and endeavoured to return towards Jassi in order to chuse a more advantageous situation for his camp.

He accordingly decamped under favour of the night*; but his army had scarcely begun its march, when, at break of day, the Turks fell upon his rear; but the Preobasintski regiment falling about, and standing firm, did, for a considerable time, check the fury of their onset. The Russians then formed themselves, and made a line of entrenchments with their waggons and baggage. The same day the Turks returned again to the attack with the whole body of their army; and as a proof that the Russians knew how to defend themselves, let what will be alleged to the contrary, they also made head against this very superior force for a

* July 20. 1711.

considerable time, killed a great number of their enemies, who in vain endeavoured to break in upon them †.

There were in the Ottoman army two officers belonging to the king of Sweden, namely. count Poniatowski, and the count of Spare, who had the command of a body of Cossacks in that prince's interest. My papers inform me, that these two generals advised the grand vizir to avoid coming to action with the Russians, and content himself with depriving them of supplies of water and provisions, which would oblige them either to surrender prisoners of war, or to perish with famine: other memoirs pretend, on the contrary, that these officers would have persuaded Mahomet to fall upon this feeble and half starved army, in a weak and distressed condition, and put all to the sword. The first of these seem to be the most prudent and circumspect; but the second is more agreeable to the character of generals, who had been trained up under Charles XII.

The real fact is, that the grand vizir fell upon the rear of the Russian army at the dawn of day, which was thrown into confusion, and there remained only a line of 400 men to confront the Turks. This small body formed itself with amazing quickness, under the orders of a German general, named Alard, who, to his immortal honour, made such a rapid and excellent disposition on this occasion, that the Russians withstood, for upwards of three hours, the repeated attack of the whole Ottoman army, without losing a foot of ground.

The czar now found himself amply repaid for the immense pains he had taken to inure his troops

† July 21.

to strict discipline. At the battle of Narva, 60,000 men were defeated by only 8000, because the former were undisciplined; and here we behold a rear-guard, consisting of only 2000 Russians, sustaining the efforts of 150,000 Turks, killing 7000 of them, and obliging the rest to return back.

After this sharp engagement, both armies entrenched themselves for that night: but the Russians still continued enclosed, and deprived of all provisions even water; for notwithstanding they were so near the river Pruth, yet they did not dare approach its banks; for as soon as any parties were sent out to find water, a body of Turks posted on the opposite shore drove them back by a furious discharge from their cannon loaded with chain shot: and the body of the Turkish army which had attacked that of the czar the day before, continued to play upon them from another quarter, with the whole force of their artillery.

The Russian army appeared now to be lost beyond resource, by its position, by the inequality of numbers, and by the want of provisions. The skirmishes of both sides were frequent and bloody: the Russian cavalry being almost all dismounted, could no longer be of any service, unless by fighting on foot: in a word, the situation of affairs were desperate. It will be sufficient to cast our eyes on the following exact chart of the situation of the czar's camp, and that of the Ottoman army, to perceive that there could not possibly be a more dangerous position than the former. It was out of their power to retreat, they had nothing left but to gain a compleat victory, to perish to the last man, or to be made slaves by the infidels.

All the accounts and memoirs of these times unanimously agree, that the czar, divided within

himself, whether or not he should expose his wife, his army, his empire, and the fruits of all his labours, to almost inevitable destruction; retired to his tent oppressed with grief, and seized with violent convulsions, to which he was naturally subject, and which the present desperate situation of his affairs brought upon him with redoubled violence. In this condition he remained alone in his tent, having given positive orders, that no one should be admitted to be a witness of the distraction of his mind. But Catherine hearing of his disorders, forced her way into him, and on this occasion Peter found how happy it was for him that he had permitted his wife to accompany him in this expedition.

A wife who like her had faced death in its most horrible shapes, and had exposed her person, like the meanest soldier, to the fire of the Turkish artillery, for the sake of her husband, had an undoubted right to speak to her husband, and to be heard. The czar accordingly listened to what she had to say, and in the end suffered himself to be persuaded to try and send to the vizir with proposals of peace.

It has been a custom for time immemorial throughout the east, that when any people applies for an audience of the sovereign or his representative, they must not presume to approach them without a present. On this occasion therefore Catherine mustered the few jewels that she had brought with her, on this military tour, in which no magnificence or luxury were admitted; to these she added the furs of a couple of black foxes, and what ready money she could collect; the latter was designed for a present to the kiaja. She made choice herself of an officer, in whole fidelity and

understanding the thought she could depend, who, accompanied with two servants, was to carry the presents to the grand vizir, and afterwards to deliver the money intended for the kiaja into his own hand. This officer was likewise charged with a letter from marshal Sheremetow to the grand vizir. The memoirs of czar Peter mention this letter, but they take no notice of the other particulars of Catherine's conduct in this business; however, they are sufficiently confirmed by the declaration issued by Peter himself in 1723, when he caused Catherine to be crowned empress, wherein we find these words: "She has been of the
 " greatest assistance to us in all our dangers, and
 " particularly in the battle of Pruth, when our
 " army was reduced to 22,000 men." If the czar had then indeed no more men capable of bearing arms, the service which Catherine did him on that occasion, was fully equivalent to the honours and dignities conferred upon her. The MS. journal of Peter the Great observes, that the day of the bloody battle, on the 20th of July, he had 31,554 foot, and 6692 horse, the latter almost all dismounted; he must then have lost 16,246 men in that engagement. The same memoirs affirm, the loss sustained by the Turks greatly exceeded that of the Russians; for as the former rushed upon the czar's troops pell-mell, and without observing any order, hardly a single fire of the latter missed its effect. If this is fact, the affair of the 20th or 21st of July was one of the most bloody that had been known for many ages.

We must either suspect Peter the Great of having been mistaken, in his declaration at the crowning of the empress, when he acknowledges "his
 " obligations to her for having saved his army,

“ which was reduced to 22,000 men ;” or accuse him of a falsity in his journal, wherein he says, that the day on which the above battle was fought, his army, exclusive of the succours he expected from the other side of the Moldavian mountains, *amounted to 31,554 foot, and 6692 horse*: According to this calculation, the battle of Pruth must have been by far more terrible than the historians or memorialists have represented on either side. There must certainly be some mistake here, which is no uncommon thing in the relations of campaigns, especially, when the writer enters into a minute detail of circumstances. The surest method therefore on these occasions, is to confine themselves to the principal events, the victory, and the defeat ; as we can very seldom know with any degree of certainty the exact loss on either side.

But however here the Russian army might be reduced in point of numbers, there were still hopes, that the grand vizir, deceived by their vigorous and obstinate resistance, might be induced to grant them peace upon such terms as might be honourable to his master's arms, and at the same time not absolutely disgraceful to those of the czar. It was the great merit of Catherine to have perceived this possibility, at a time when her consort and his generals expected nothing less than inevitable destruction.

Norberg, in his history of Charles XII. quotes a letter sent by the czar to the grand vizir, in which he expresses himself thus. “ If, contrary
 “ to my intentions, I have been so unhappy as to
 “ incur the displeasure of his highness, I am ready
 “ to make reparation for any cause of complaint
 “ he may have against me, I conjure you, most
 “ noble general, to prevent the further effusion

“ of blood ; give orders, I beseech you, to put a
“ stop to the dreadful and destructive fire of your
“ artillery, and accept of the hostage I herewith
“ send you ”

This latter carries all the marks of falsity with it, as do indeed most of the random pieces of Norberg. It is dated 11th July, N S. whereas no letter was sent to Baltagi Mahomet, till the 21st, N. S, neither was it the czar that wrote to the vizir, but his general Scheremetow : there were no such expressions made use of as “ if the czar has had “ the misfortune to incur the displeasure of his “ highness.” such terms being suitable only to a subject who implores the pardon of his sovereign, whom he has offended. There was no mention made of any hostage, nor was any one sent. The letter was carried by an officer, in the midst of a furious cannonade on both sides. Scheremetow in this letter only reminded the vizir, of certain overtures of peace, that the Pote had made at the beginning of the campaign through the mediation of the Dutch and English ministers, and by which the divan demanded that the fort and harbour of Taganroc should be given up, which were the real subjects of war

Some hours elapsed before the messenger received an answer from the grand vizir *, and it was apprehended that he had either been killed by the enemy's cannon, or that they had detained him prisoner. A second courier was therefore dispatched with duplicates of the former letters, and a council of war was immediately held, at which Catherine was present. At this council ten general officers signed the following resolution.

* July 21. 1711.

“ Resolved, if the enemy will not accept the conditions proposed, and should insist upon our laying down our arms, and surrendering at discretion, that all the ministers and general officers are unanimously of opinion, to cut their way through the enemy sword-in-hand.”

In consequence of this resolution, a line of entrenchments was thrown round the baggage, and the Russians marched some few paces out of their camp, towards the enemy, when the grand vizir caused a suspension of arms to be proclaimed between the two armies.

All the writers of the Swedish party have treated the grand vizir as a cowardly and infamous wretch, who had been bribed to sell the honour of his master's arms. In the same manner have several authors accused count Piper of receiving money from the duke of Marlborough, to persuade the king of Sweden to continue the war against the czar; and have laid to the charge of the French minister, that he purchased the peace of Seville for a stipulated sum. Such accusations ought never to be advanced but on very strong proofs. It is very seldom that a minister will stoop to such meannesses, which are always discovered sooner or later by those who have been entrusted with the payment of the money, or by the public registers, which never lye. A minister of state stands as a public object to the eyes of all Europe. His credit and influence depend wholly upon his character, and he is always sufficiently rich to be above the temptation of becoming a traitor.

The place of viceroy of the Turkish empire is so illustrious, and the profits annexed to it, in time of war, so immense; there was such a profusion of every thing necessary, and even luxurious, in

the camp of Baltagi Mahomet, and, on the other hand, so much poverty and distress in that of the czar, that surely the grand vizir was rather in a condition to give than to receive. The trifling present of a woman who had nothing to send but a few skins and some jewels, in compliance with the established custom of all courts, or rather those in particular of the east, can never be considered in the light of a bribe. The frank and open conduct of Baltagi Mahomet seems at once to give the lie to the black accusations with which so many writers have stained their relations. Vice-chancellor Shaffiroff paid the vizir a public visit in his tent: every thing was transacted in the open manner, on both sides; and indeed it could not be otherwise. The very first article of the negotiation was entered upon in the presence of a person wholly devoted to the king of Sweden, a domestic of count Poniatowski, who was himself one of that monarch's generals. This man served as interpreter, and the several articles were publicly reduced to writing by the vizir's chief secretary, Hammer Esfendi. Moreover, count Poniatowski was there in person. The present sent to the kiaja was offered probably in form, and every thing was transacted according to the oriental customs. Other presents were made by the Turks in return, so that there was not the least appearance of treachery or contrivance. The motives which determined the vizir to consent to the proposals offered him, were, first, that the body of troops under the command of general Renne, on the borders of the river Sireth, in Moldavia, had already crossed three rivers, and were actually in the neighbourhood of the Danube, where Renne had already made himself master of the town and castle of Brahila, de-

fended by a numerous garrison, under the command of a bashaw. Secondly, the czar had likewise another body of troops advancing through the frontiers of Poland; and, lastly, it is more than probable that the vizir was not fully acquainted with the extreme scarcity that was felt in the Russian camp. One enemy seldom furnishes another with an exact account of his provisions and ammunition; on the contrary, either side are accustomed rather to make a parade of plenty, even in a time when they are in the greatest necessity. There can be no artifices practised to gain intelligence of the true state of an adversary's affairs, by means of spies, between the Turks and Russians. The difference of their dress, of their religion, and of their language, will not permit it. They are moreover strangers to that desertion which prevails in most of our armies, and consequently the grand vizir could not be supposed to know the desperate condition to which the czar's army was reduced.

Baltagi, who was not fond of war, and who, nevertheless, had conducted this very well, thought that his expedition would be sufficiently successful if he put his master in possession of the towns and harbours which made the subject of the war, stop the progress of the victorious army under Renne, and obliged that general to quit the banks of the Danube, and return back into Russia, and for ever shut the entrance of the Palus Mæotis, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Black Sea, against an enterprising prince; and, lastly, if he avoided taking these certain advantages, on the hazard of a new battle, in which, after all, despair might have got the better of superiority of numbers. The preceeding day only, he had beheld his janissaries

repulsed with loss; and there wanted not examples of many victories having been gained by the weaker over the strong. Such were Mahomet's reasons for accepting the proposals of peace. His conduct, however, did not merit the approbation of Charles's officers, who served in the Turkish army, nor of the khan of Tartary. It was the interest of the latter, and his followers, to reject all terms of accommodation which would deprive them of the opportunity of ravaging the frontiers of Russia and Poland. Charles XII. desired to be revenged on his rival the czar; but the general, and the first minister of the Ottoman empire, was neither influenced by the private thirst of revenge, which animated the Christian monarch, nor by the desire of the booty, which actuated the Tartar chief.

As soon as the suspension of arms was agreed to, and signed, the Russians purchased of the Turks the provisions, of which they stood in need. The articles of peace were not signed at that time, as is related by La Motraye, and which Norberg has copied from him. The vizir, among other conditions, demanded that the czar should promise not to interfere any more in the Polish affairs. This was a point particularly insisted upon by count Poniatowski; but it was, in fact, the interest of the Ottoman crown, that the kingdom of Poland should continue in its then defenceless and divided state; accordingly this demand was reduced to that of the Russian troops evacuating the frontiers of Poland. The khan of Tartary, on his side, demanded a tribute of forty thousand sequins. This point, after being long debated, was at length given up.

The grand vizir insisted a long time, that prince Cantemir should be delivered up to him, as Pat-

kul had been to the king of Sweden. Cantemir was exactly in the same situation as Mazeppa had been. The czar caused that hetman to be arraigned and tried for his defection, and afterwards to be executed in effigy. The Turks were not acquainted with the nature of such proceeding; they knew nothing of trials for contumacy, nor of public condemnations. The affixing a sentence on any person, and executing him in effigy, were the more unusual amongst them, as their law forbids the representation of any human likeness whatever. The vizir in vain insisted on Cantemir's being delivered up; Peter peremptorily refused to comply, and wrote the following letter with his own hand, to his vice-chancellor Shaffiroff.

“ I can resign to the Turks all the country as far as Curzka, because I have hopes of being able to recover it again; but I will, by no means, violate my faith, which, once forfeited, can never be retrieved. I have nothing I can properly call my own, but my honour. If I give up that, I cease to be longer a king.”

At length the treaty was concluded, and signed, at a village called Falksen, on the river Pruth. Among other things, it was stipulated, that Azoph, and the territories belonging thereto, should be restored, together with all the ammunition and artillery that were in the place, before the czar made himself master thereof, in 1696. That the harbour of Taganroc, in the Zabach Sea, should be demolished, as also that of Samara, on the river of the same name; and several other fortresses. There was likewise another article added, respecting the king of Sweden, which article alone sufficiently shews the little regard the vizir had for that prince; for it was therein stipulated, that the czar

should not molest Charles, in his return to his dominions, and that afterwards the czar and he might make peace with each other, if they were so inclined

It is pretty evident by the wording of this extraordinary article, that Baltagi Mahomet had not forgot the haughty manner in which Charles XII. had behaved to him a short time before ; and it is not unlikely that this very behaviour of the king of Sweden might have been one inducement with Mahomet to comply so readily with his rival's proposals for peace. Charles's glory depended wholly on the ruin of the czar ; but we are seldom inclinable to exalt those who express a contempt for us : however this prince, who refused to pay the vizir a visit in his camp, and on his invitation, when it was certainly his interest to have been upon good terms with him, now came hither in haste, and unasked, when the work which put an end to all his hopes was on the point of being concluded. The vizir did not go to meet him in person, but contented himself with sending two of his bashaws, nor would he stir out of his tent till Charles was within a few paces of it.

This interview passed, as every one knows, in mutual reproaches. Several historians have thought that the answer which the vizir made to the king of Sweden, when that prince reproached him with not making the czar prisoner, when he might have done it so easily, was the reply of a weak man. " If I had taken him prisoner, said Mahomet, who would there be to govern his dominions ?"

It is very easy however to comprehend, that this was the answer of a man who was piqued with resentment ; and these words which he added,

“ for it is not proper that every crowned head should quit his dominions,” sufficiently shewed that he intended to mortify the refugee of Bender.

Charles gained nothing by his journey, but the pleasure of tearing the vizir's robe with his spurs, while the officer who was in a condition to make him repent this splenetic insult seemed not to notice it, in which he was certainly greatly superior to Charles. If any thing could have made that monarch sensible in the midst of his life, how easily fortune can put greatness to the blush, it would have been the reflection, that at the battle of Pultowa a pastry-cook's boy had obliged the whole army to surrender at discretion, and in this of Pruth a wood-cutter was the arbiter of his fate, and that of his rival the czar; for the vizir Balragi Mahomet had been a cutter of wood in the grand seignior's seraglio, as his name implied; and far from being ashamed of that title, he gloried in it: so much do the manners of the Eastern people differ from ours.

When the news of this treaty reached Constantinople, the sultan was so well pleased, that he ordered public rejoicings to be made for a whole week, and Mahomet's kinja, who brought the tidings to the divan, was instantly raised to the dignity of Boujouk-Imraour, or master of the horse: a certain proof that the sultan did not think himself ill served by his vizir.

Norberg seems to have known very little of the Turkish government, when he says, that “ the grand seignior was obliged to keep fair with Balragi Mahomet, that vizir having rendered himself formidable.” The janissaries indeed have often rendered themselves formidable to their sultans; but there is not one example of a vizir who has

not been easily sacrificed to the will or orders of his sovereign, and Mahomet was in no condition to support himself by his own power. Besides, Norberg manifestly contradicts himself, by affirming in the same page, that the janissaries were irritated against Mahomet, and that the sultan stood in dread of his power.

The king of Sweden was now reduced to the necessity of forming cabals in the Ottoman court; and a monarch who had so lately made kings by his own power, was now seen waiting for audience, and offering memorials and petitions which were refused.

Charles ran through all the ambages of intrigue, like a subject who endeavours to make a minister suspected by his master. In this manner he acted against Mahomet, and against those who succeeded him. At one time he addressed himself to the sultana Valide by means of a Jewess, who had admission into the seraglio; at another, he employed one of the eunuchs for the same purpose. At length he had recourse to a man who was to mingle among the grand seignior's guards, and, by counterfeiting a person out of his senses, to attract the attention of the sultan, and by that means deliver up into his own hand a memorial from Charles. From all these various schemes, the king of Sweden drew only the mortification of seeing himself deprived of his thaim; that is to say, of the daily pension which the Porte of its generosity had assigned him for his subsistence, and which amounted to about 1500 French livres †. The grand vizir, instead of remitting this allowance to him as usual, sent him an order, in the form of a

† About 70 l. sterling.

friendly advice, to quit the grand seignior's dominions.

Charles, however, was absolutely determined not to depart, still flattering himself with the vain hopes, that he should once more re-enter Poland and Russia with a powerful army of Turks. Every one knows what was the issue of his inflexible boldness in the year 1714, and how he engaged an army of janissaries, Spahis and Tartars, with only himself, his secretaries, and his valet de chambre, cook, and stable-men; that he was taken prisoner in that country, where he had been treated with the greatest hospitality; and that he at length got back to his own kingdom in the disguise of a courier, after having lived five years in Turkey: from all which it remains to be acknowledged, that if there was reason in the conduct of this extraordinary prince, it was a reason of a very different nature to that of other men.

C H A P. II.

Conclusion of the Affairs of PRUTH.

IT is necessary in this place to repeat an event already related in the history of Charles XII. It happened during the suspension of arms which preceded the treaty of Pruth, that two Tartarian foldiers surpris'd and took prisoners two Italian officers belonging to the czar's army, and sold them to an officer of the Turkish janissaries. The vizir, being informed of this breach of public faith, punished the two Tartars with death. How are we to reconcile this severe delicacy with the violation of the laws of nations in the person of Tolstoy the

czar's ambassador, whom this very vizir caused to be arrested in the streets of Constantinople, and afterwards imprisoned in the castle of the Seven Towers? There is always some reason for the contradictions we find in the actions of mankind. Baltagi Mahomet was incensed against the khan of Tartary, for having opposed the peace he had lately made, and was resolved to shew that chieftain that he was his master.

The treaty was no sooner concluded, than the czar quitted the borders of the Pruth, and returned towards his own dominions, followed by a body of 8000 Turks, whom the vizir had sent as an army of observation to watch the motions of the Russian army during its march, and also to serve as an escort or safeguard to them against the wandering Tartars which infested those parts.

Peter instantly set about accomplishing the treaty, by demolishing the fortresses of Samara and Kamientka; but the restoring of Asoph, and the demolition of the port of Tangaroc, met with some difficulties in the execution. According to the terms of the treaty it was necessary to distinguish the artillery and ammunitions which belonged to the Turks in Asoph before that place was taken by the czar, from those which had been sent thither after it fell into his hands. The governor of the place spun out this affair to a tedious length, at which the Porte was greatly incensed, and not without reason. The Sultan was impatient to receive the keys of Asoph: the vizir promised they should be sent from time to time, but the governor always found means to delay the delivery of them. Baltagi Mahomet lost the good graces of his master, and with them his place. The khan of Tartary and his other enemies made such good

use of their interest with the sultan, that the grand vizir was deposed, several bashaws were disgraced at the same time; but the grand seignior, well convinced of this minister's fidelity, did not deprive him either of his life or estate, but only sent him to Mytilene, to take on him the command of that island *. This simple removal from the helm of affairs, and the continuing to him his fortunes, and above all, the giving him the command in Mytilene, sufficiently contradicts all that Norberg has advanced to induce us to believe that this vizir had been corrupted with the czar's money.

Norberg further asserts, that the Bostangi bashaw, who came to divest him of his office, and to acquaint him of the grand seignior's sentence, declared to him at the same time, 'a traitor, one " who had disobeyed the orders of his sovereign " lord, had sold him to the enemy for money, " and was found guilty of not having taken proper care of the interests of the king of Sweden.' In this first place these kind of declarations are not at all in use in Turkey; the orders of the grand seignior always being issued privately, and executed with secrecy. Secondly, if the vizir had been declared *a traitor, a rebel, and a corrupted person*, crimes of this nature would have been instantly punished with death in a country where they are never forgiven. Lastly, if he was punishable for not having sufficiently attended to the interests of the king of Sweden, it is evident that this prince must have had such a degree of influence at the Ottoman Porte, as to have made the other ministers to tremble, who would consequently have endeavoured to gain his good graces; whereas on the contrary, the bashaw Jussuf, aga of the janissaries,

* Nov. 1711.

who succeeded Mahomet Baltagi as grand vizir, had the same sentiments as his predecessor, in relation to Charles's conduct; and was so far from doing him any service, that he thought of nothing but how to get rid of so dangerous a guest; and when count Poniatowski, the companion and confident of that monarch, went to compliment the vizir on his new dignity, the latter spoke to him thus: "Pagan, I forewarn thee, that if ever I find thee hatching any intrigues, I will upon the first notice cause thee to be thrown into the sea with a stone about thy neck."

This compliment Poniatowski himself relates in the memoirs which he drew up at my request, and is a sufficient proof of the little influence his master had in the Turkith court. All that Norberg has related touching the affairs of that empire, appear to come from a prejudiced person, and one who was very ill informed of the circumstances he pretends to write about. And we may count among the errors of a party-spirit and political falsehoods, every thing which this writer advances unsupported by proofs, concerning the pretended corruption of a grand vizir, that is, of a person who had the disposal of upwards of sixty millions per annum, without being subject to the least account*. I have now before me the letter which count Poniatowski wrote to King Stanislaus immediately after the signing the treaty of Pruth, in which he upbraids Baltagi Mahomet with the slight he shewed to the king of Sweden, his dislike to the war, and unsteadiness of his temper; but never once hints the least charge of corruption; for he

* French money, which is always counted by livres, and makes about three millions sterling.

knew too well what the place of grand vizir was, to entertain an idea that the czar was capable of setting a price upon the infidelity of the second person in the Ottoman empire.

Shaffiroff and Sheremetow, who remained at Constantinople as hostages on the part of the czar for his performance of the treaty, were not used in the manner they would have been, if known to have purchased this peace, and to have joined with the vizir in deceiving his master. They were left to go at liberty about the city, escorted by two companies of janissaries.

The czar's ambassador Tolstoy having been released from his confinement in the Seven Towers, immediately upon signing the treaty of Peace the Dutch and English ministers interposed with the new vizir to see the several articles of that treaty put into execution.

Asoph was at length restored to the Turks, and the fortresses mentioned in the treaty were demolished according to stipulation. And now the Ottoman Porte though very little inclinable to interfere in the differences between Christian princes, could not without vanity behold itself made arbitrator between Russia, Poland, and the king of Sweden; and insisted that the czar should withdraw his troops out of Poland, and deliver the Turkish empire from so dangerous a neighbour; and desirous that the Christian princes might continually be at war with each other, wished for nothing so much as to send Charles home to his own dominions; but all this while had not the least intention of furnishing him with an army. The Tartars were still for war, as an artificer is willing to seize every opportunity to exercise his calling. The janissaries likewise wished to be called into the

field, but more out of hatred against the Christians, their naturally restless disposition, and from a fondness for rapine and licentiousness, than from any other motives. Nevertheless the English and Dutch ministers managed their negotiations so well, that they prevailed over the opposite party: the treaty of Pruth was confirmed, but with the addition of a new article, by which it was stipulated, that the czar should withdraw his forces from Poland within three months, and that the sultan should immediately send Charles XII. out of his dominions.

We may judge from this new treaty whether the king of Sweden had that interest at the Porte which some writers would have us to believe. He was evidently sacrificed on this occasion by the new vizir bashaw Jussuf, as he had been before by Baltagi Mahomet. The historians of his party could find no other expedient to colour over this fresh affront, but that of accusing Jussuf of having been bribed like his predecessor. Such repeated imputations, unsupported by any proofs, are rather the clamours of an impotent cabal, than the testimonies of history. But fashion, when driven to acknowledge facts, will ever be endeavouring to alter circumstances and motives, and unhappily it is thus that all the histories of our times will be handed down to posterity so altered, that they will be unable to distinguish truth from falsehoods.

C H A P. III.

Marriage of the czarowitz The marriage of Peter and Catherine publicly solemnized. Catherine finds her brother.

THIS unsuccessful campaign of Purth proved more hurtful to the czar than ever the battle of Narva was; for after that defeat he had found means not only to retrieve his losses, but also to wrest Ingria out of the hands of Charles XII. but by the treaty of Falksten, in which he consented to give up to the sultan his forts and harbours on the Palus Mæotis, he for ever lost his projected superiority in the Black Sea. He had besides an infinite deal of work on his hands; his new establishments in Russia were to be perfected, he had to prosecute his victories over the Swede, to settle king Augustus firmly on the Polish throne, and to manage affairs properly with the several powers with whom he was in alliance; but the fatigues he had undergone having impaired his health, he was obliged to go to Carelsbad in Bohemia, to drink the waters of that place. While he was there he gave orders for his troops to enter Pomerania who blockaded Stralsund, and took five other towns in the neighbourhood.

Pomerania is the most northern province of Germany, bounded on the east by Prussia and Poland, on the west by Brandenburg, on the south by Mecklenburg, and on the north by the Baltic sea. It has changed masters almost every century: Gustavus Adolphus got possession of it in his famous thirty years war, and it was afterwards solemnly ceded to the crown of Sweden by

the treaty of Westphalia, with a reservation of the little bishopric of Cammin, and a few other small towns lying in Upper Pomerania. The whole of this province properly belongs to the elector of Brandenburg, in virtue of a family-compact made with the dukes of Pomerania, whose family being extinct in 1637, consequently by the laws of the empire the house of Brandenburg had an undoubted right to the succession: but necessity, the first of all laws, occasioned this family-compact to be set aside by the treaty of Osnaburg; after which almost the whole of Pomerania fell to the lot of the victorious Swedes.

The czar's intention was to wrest from Sweden all the provinces that crown was possessed of in Germany; and, in order to accomplish his design, he found it necessary to enter into a confederacy with the electors of Hanover and Brandenburg and the king of Denmark. Peter drew up the several articles of the treaty he projected with these powers, and also a complete plan of the necessary operations for rendering him master of Pomerania.

In the mean while he went to Torgou to be present at the nuptials of his son the czarowitz Alexis with the princess of Wolfenbuttel*, sister to the consort of Charles VI. emperor of Germany; nuptials, which in the end proved fatal to his own peace of mind, and to the lives of the unfortunate pair.

The czarowitz was born of the first marriage of Peter the Great with Eudocia Lapoukin, to whom he was espoused in 1689: she was at this time shut up in the monastery of Sufdal; their son Alexis Petrowitz who was born the 1st of March 1690, was now in his 22d year, This prince was not

* Octob. 23. 1711.

then at all known in Europe: a minister, whose memoirs of the count of Russia have been printed, says, in a letter he writes to his master, dated August 25, 1711, that "this prince was tall and
 " well-made, resembled his father greatly, was of
 " an excellent disposition, very pious, had read
 " the Bible five times over, took great delight in
 " the ancient Greek historians, appeared to have
 " a very quick apprehension and understanding,
 " was well acquainted with the mathematics the
 " art of war, navigation, and hydraulics; that he
 " understood the German language and was then
 " learning the French, but that his father would
 " never suffer him to go through a regular course
 " of study."

This character is very different from that which the czar himself gives of his son sometimes afterwards, in which we shall see how much grief he reproaches him with faults directly opposite to those good qualities for which this minister seems so much to admire him.

We must leave posterity therefore to determine between the testimony of a stranger, who may have formed too slight a judgment, and the declaration of a parent, who thought himself under a necessity of sacrificing the dictates of nature to the good of his people. If the minister was no better acquainted with the disposition of Alexis than he seems to be with his outward form, his evidence will have but little weight; for he describes this prince as tall and well-made, whereas the memoirs sent me from Petersburg says that he was neither one nor the other.

His mother-in-law Catherine was not present at his nuptials; for though she was already looked upon as czarina, yet she had not been publicly ac-

known as such: and moreover, as she had only the title of highness given her at the czar's court, her rank was not sufficiently settled to admit of her signing the contract, or to appear at the ceremony in a station befitting the consort of Peter the Great. She therefore remained at Thorn in Polish Prussia. Soon after the nuptials were celebrated the czar sent the new-married couple away to Wolfenbützel*, and brought back the czarina to Petersburg with that dispatch and privacy which he observed in all his journeys.

Having now disposed of his son†, he publicly solemnized his own nuptials with Catherine, which had been declared in private before. The ceremony was performed with as much magnificence as could be expected in a city but yet in its infancy and from a revenue exhausted by the late destructive war against the Turks, and that which he has still engaged in against the king of Sweden. The czar gave orders for, and assisted himself in, all the preparations for the ceremony, according to his usual custom; and Catherine was now publicly declared czarina, in reward for having saved her husband and his whole army.

The acclamations with which this declaration was received at Petersburg were sincere: the applauses which subjects confer upon the actions of a despotic sovereign are generally suspected; but on this occasion they were confirmed by the united voice of all the thinking part of Europe, who beheld with pleasure on the one hand the heir of a vast monarchy with no other glory than that of his birth married to a petty princess; and, on the other hand, a powerful conqueror, and a law

* Jan. 9. 1712.

† Feb. 19.

giver, publicly sharing his bed and his throne with a stranger and a captive, who had nothing to recommend her but her merit; and this approbation became more general as the minds of men grew more enlightened by that sound philosophy which has made so great a progress in our understandings within these last forty years; a philosophy, equally sublime and discerning, which teaches us to pay only the exterior respect to greatness and authority, while we reserve our esteem and veneration for shining talents and meritorious services.

And here I think myself under an obligation to relate what I have met with touching this marriage in the dispatches of count Basséwitz, Aulic counsellor at Vienna, and long time minister from Holstein at the court of Russia; a person of great merit, and whose memory is still held in the highest esteem in Germany. In some of his letters he speaks thus: "The czarina had not only been the main instrument of procuring the czar that reputation which he enjoyed, but was likewise essentially necessary in the preservation of his life. This prince was unhappily subject to violent convulsion-fits, which were thought to be the effects of poison which had been given him while he was young. Catherine alone had found the secret of alleviating his sufferings by an unwearied assiduity and attention to whatever she thought would please him, and made it the whole study of her life to preserve an health so valuable to the kingdom and to herself, insomuch, that the czar finding he could not live without her, made her the companion of his throne and bed." I here only repeat the express words of the writer himself.

Fortune, which has furnished us with many extraordinary scenes in this part of the world, and

who had raised Catherine from the lowest abyſs of miſery and diſtreſs to the pinnacle of human grandeur, wrought another extraordinary incident in her favour ſome few years after her marriage with the czar, and which I find thus related in a curious manuſcript of a perſon who was at that time in the czar's ſervice, and who ſpeaks of it as a thing to which he was eye-witneſs.

An envoy from King Auguſtus to the court of Peter the Great, being on his return home through Courland, and having put up at an inn by the way, heard the voice of a perſon who ſeemed in great diſtreſs, and whom the people of the houſe were treating in that inſulting manner which is but too common on ſuch occaſions: but the ſtranger, with a tone of reſentment, made anſwer, that they would not dare to uſe him thus, if he could but once get to the ſpeech of the czar, at whoſe court he had perhaps more powerful protectors than they imagined.

The envoy upon hearing this, had a curioſity to aſk the man ſome queſtions, and from certain anſwers he let fall, and a cloſe examination of his face, he thought he found in him ſome reſemblance of the empreſs Catherine; and when he came to Dreſden, he could not forbear writing to one of his friends at Peterſburg concerning it. This letter, by accident, came to the czar's hands, who immediately ſent an order to prince Repnin, then governor of Riga, to endeavour to find out the perſon mentioned in the letter. Prince Repnin immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Mittau in Courland, who, on enquiry, found out the man and learned that his name was Charles Scavronski; that he was the ſon of of a Lithuanian gentleman, who had been killed in the wars of Poland, and

had left two children then in the cradle, a boy and a girl, who had neither of them received any other education than that which simple nature gives to those who are abandoned by the world. Scavronski, who had been parted from his sister while they were both infants, knew nothing further of her than that she had been taken prisoner in Mairenburg, in the year 1704, and supposed her to be still in the household of prince Menzikoff, where he imagined she might have made some little fortune.

Prince Repnin, agreeable to the particular orders he had received from the czar, caused Scavronski to be seized, and conducted to Riga under pretence of some crime laid to his charge; and to give a better colour to the matter, at his arrival there, a sham information was drawn up against him, and he was soon after sent from thence to Petersburg, under a strong guard, with orders to treat him well upon the road.

When he came to that capital, he was carried to the house of an officer of the emperor's palace named Shepleff, who having been previously instructed in the part he was to play, drew several circumstances from the young man in relation to his condition; and, after some time, told him, that although the information, which had been sent up from Riga against him, was of a very serious nature, yet he would have justice done him; but that it would be necessary to present a petition to his majesty for that purpose; that one should accordingly be drawn up in his name and that he, Shepleff, would find means that he should deliver it into the czar's own hands.

The next day the czar came to dine with Shepleff at his own house, who presented Scavronski

to him; when his majesty, after asking him a-bundance of questions, was convinced, by the natural answers he gave, that he was really the czarina's brother: they had both lived in Livonia when young, and the czar found every thing that Scavronski said to him, in relation to his family-affairs, to tally exactly with what his wife had told him concerning her brother, and the misfortunes which had befallen her and her brother in the earlier part of their lives.

The czar, now satisfied of the truth, proposed the next day to the empress to go and dine with him at Shepleff's; and when dinner was over, he gave orders, that the man whom he had examined the day before, should be brought in again. Accordingly he was introduced, dressed in the same cloaths he had worn while on his journey from Riga, the czar not being willing that he should appear in any other garb than what his unhappy circumstances had accustomed him to.

He interrogated him again in the presence of his wife; and the MS adds, at the end, he turned about to the empress, and said these very words, "This is your brother; come hither, Charles, and kiss the hand of the empress, and embrace your sister."

The author of this narrative adds further, that the empress fainted away with surprise; and that when she came to herself again, the czar said to her, "There is nothing in this but what is very natural. This gentleman is my brother-in-law; if he has merit, we will make something of him; if he has not, we must leave him as he is."

I am of opinion, that this speech shews as much greatness as simplicity, and a greatness not very common. My author says, that Scavronski re-

mained a considerable time at Shepleff's house; that the czar assigned him a handsome pension, but that he led a very retired life. He carries his relation of this adventure no further, as he made use of it only to disclose the secret of Catherine's brother: but we know, from other authorities, that this gentleman was afterwards created a count; that he married a young lady of quality, by whom he had two daughters, who were married to two of the principal noblemen in Russia. I leave to those who may be better informed of the particulars, to distinguish what is fact in this relation, from what may be added, and shall only say, that the author does not seem to have told this story out of a fondness for entertaining his readers with the marvellous, since his papers were not intended to be published. He is writing freely to a friend about a thing of which he says he was an eye-witness. He may have been mistaken in some circumstances, but the fact itself has all the appearance of truth; for if this gentleman had known that his sister was raised to so great dignity and power, he would not certainly have remained so many years without having made himself known to her. And this discovery, however extraordinary it may seem, is certainly not more so than the exaltation of Catherine herself; but the one and the other are striking proofs of the force of destiny, and may teach us to be cautious how we treat as fabulous, several events of antiquity which perhaps are less contradictory to the common order of things, than the adventures of this empress.

The enjoyments made by czar Peter for his own marriage, and that of his son, were not of the nature of those transient augmentments which exhaust the public treasure, and are presently lost in obli-

vion. He completed his grand foundery for cannon, and finished the admiralty buildings. The highways were repaired, several ships built, and others put upon the stocks; new canals were dug, and the finishing hand put to the grand warehouses, and other buildings, and the trade of Petersburg began to assume a flourishing face. He issued an ordinance for removing the senate from Moscow to Petersburg, which was executed in the month of April 1712. By this step he made his new city the capital of the empire. He, at the same time, employed a number of Swedish prisoners in beautifying this city, whose foundation had been laid upon their defeat.

C H A P IV.

Taking of S T E T I N.

Descent upon FINLAND. Events of the year 1712.

PETER, now seeing himself happy in his own family, and in his state and successful in his war against Charles XII and in the several negotiations which he had entered into with other powers, who were resolved to assist him in driving out the Swedes from the continent, and cooping them for ever within the narrow isthmus of Scandinavia, began to turn his views entirely towards the north west coasts of Europe, not laying aside all thoughts of the *Palus Mæotis*, or the Black sea. The keys of Asoph, which had been so long withheld from the bathaw, who was to have taken possession of that place for the sultan his master, were now given up, and, notwithstanding all the

endeavours of the king of Sweden, the intrigues of his friends at the Ottoman Porte, and even some menaces of a new war on the part of the Turks, both that nation and the Russian empire continued at peace.

Charles XII. still obstinate in his resolution not to depart from Bender, tamely submitted his hopes and fortunes to the caprice of a grand vizir; while the czar was threatening all his provinces, arming against him the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover, and had almost persuaded the king of Prussia, and even the Poles and Saxons, to declare openly for him.

Charles, ever of the same inflexible disposition, behaved in the like manner towards his enemies, who now seemed united to overwhelm him, as he had done in all his transactions with the Ottoman Porte; and from his lurking place in the deserts of Bessarabia, defied the czar, the kings of Poland, Denmark, and Prussia, the elector of Hanover, soon afterwards king of England, and the emperor of Germany, whom he had so greatly offended, when he was traversing Silesia with his victorious troops, and who now shewed his resentment, by abandoning him to his ill-fortune, and refused to take under his protection any of those countries, which as yet belonged to the Swedes in Germany.

It would have been no difficult matter for him to have broken the league which was forming against him, would he have consented to cede Stetin in Pomerania*, to Frederic, the first king of Prussia, and elector of Brandenburg, who had a lawful claim thereto: but Charles did not then look upon Prussia as a power of any consequence; and

* 1712.

indeed neither he, nor any other person, could at that time foresee, that this petty kingdom, and the electorate of Brandenburg either of which were little better than deserts, would one day become formidable. Charles therefore would not listen to any proposal of accommodation, but, determined rather to take all than to give up any thing, sent orders to the regency of Stockholm, to make all possible resistance both by sea and land: and these orders were obeyed, notwithstanding that his dominions were almost exhausted of men and money. The senate of Stockholm fitted out a fleet of thirteen ships of the line, and every person capable of bearing arms came voluntarily to offer their service: in a word, the inflexible courage and pride of Charles seemed to be infused into all his subjects, who were almost as unfortunate as their master.

It can hardly be supposed, that Charles's conduct was formed upon any regular plan. He had still a powerful party in Poland, which assisted by the Crim Tartars, might indeed have desolated that wretched country, but could not have replaced Stanislaus on the throne; and his hopes of engaging the Ottoman Porte to espouse his cause, or convincing the divan, that it was their interest to send 10 or 12,000 men to the assistance of his friends, under pretence, that the czar was supporting his ally Augustus in Poland, was vain and chimerical.

Nevertheless, he continued still at Bender, to wait the issue of these vain projects, while the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, were over-running Pomerania. Peter took his wife with him on this expedition. The king of Denmark had already made himself master of Stade, a sea-port town in

the duchy of Bremen; and the united forces of Russia, Saxony, and Denmark, were already before Stralsund.

And now king Stanislaus *, seeing the deplorable state of so many provinces, the impossibility of his recovering the crown of Poland, and the universal confusion occasioned by the inflexibility of Charles, called a meeting of the Swedish generals, who were covering Pomerania with an army of 11,000 men, as the last resource they had left in those provinces.

When they were assembled, he proposed to them to make their terms with king Augustus, offering himself to be the victim of this reconciliation. On this occasion, he made the following speech to them in the French language, which he afterwards left in writing, and which was signed by nine general officers, amongst whom happened to be one Parkul, cousin-german to the unfortunate Parkul, who lost his life on the wheel by the order of Charles XII.

“ Having been hitherto the instrument of procuring glory to the Swedish arms, I cannot think of proving the cause of their ruin. I therefore declare myself ready to sacrifice the crown, and my personal interests to the preservation of the sacred person of the king, as I can see no other method of releasing him from the place where he now is.”

Having made this declaration (which is here given in his own words) he prepared to set out for Turkey, in hopes of being able to soften the inflexible temper of his benefactor, by the sacrifice he had made for him. His ill-fortune would have it, that he arrived in Bessarabia, at the very time that

* Octob. 1712.

Charles, after having given his word to the sultan, that he would depart from Bender, and having received the necessary remittances for his journey, and an escort for his person, took the mad resolution to continue there, and opposed a whole army of Turks and Tartars, with only his own domestics. The former, though they might easily have killed him, contented themselves with taking him prisoner. At this very juncture, Stanislaus arriving, was seized himself, so that two Christian kings were prisoners at one time in Turkey.

At this time, when all Europe was in commotion, and that France had just terminated a war equally fatal against one part thereof, in order to settle the grandson of Lewis XIV. on the throne of Spain, England gave peace to France, and the victory gained by Marshal Villars at Denain in Flanders saved that state from its other enemies. France had been upwards of a century the ally of Sweden, and it was the interest of the former that its ally should not be stripped of his possessions in Germany. Charles unhappily was at such a distance from his dominions, that he did not even know what was transacting in France.

The regency of Stockholm, by a desperate effort, ventured to demand a sum of money from the French court at a time when its finances were at so low an ebb, that Lewis XIV. had hardly money enough to pay his household-servants. Count Sparre was sent with a commission to negotiate this loan, in which it was not to be supposed he would succeed. However, on his arrival at Versailles, he represented to the marquis de Torci the inability of the regency to pay the little army which Charles had still remaining in Pomerania, and which was ready to break up and dispute of itself

an account of the long arrears due to the men, and that France was on the point of beholding the only ally she had left, deprived of those provinces which were so necessary to preserve the balance of power; that indeed his master Charles had not been altogether so attentive to the interests of France in the course of his conquests as might have been expected, but that the magnanimity of Lewis XIV was at least equal to the misfortunes of his royal brother and ally. The French minister, in answer to this speech, so effectually set forth the incapacity of his court to furnish the requested succours, that count Sparre despaired of success.

It so happened however, that a private individual did that which Sparre had lost all hopes of obtaining from the court. There was at that time in Paris a banker named Samuel Bernard, who had accumulated an immense fortune by making remittances for the government to foreign countries, and other private contracts. This man was intoxicated with a species of pride very rarely to be met with from people of his profession. He was immoderately fond of every thing that made an *éclat*, and knew very well that one time or another the government would repay with interest those who hazarded their fortune to supply its exigencies. Count Sparre went one day to dine with him, and took care to flatter his foible so well, that before they rose from the table the Banker put 600,000 livres into his hand; and then immediately waiting on the marquis de Torci, he said to him, "I lent the crown of Sweden 600,000 livres in your name, which you must repay me when you are able."

Count Steinbock, who at that time commanded Charles's army in Pomerania, little expected so

seasonable a supply ; and seeing his troops so ready to muiny, to whom he had nothing to give but promises, and that the storm was gathering fast upon him, and being moreover apprehensive of being surrounded by the three different armies of Russia, Denmark, and Saxony, desired a cessation of arms, on the supposition that Stanislaus's abdication would soften the obstinacy of Charles, and that the only way left him to save the forces under his command was by spinning out the time in negotiations. He therefore dispatched a courier to Bender, to represent to the king of Sweden the desperate state of his finances and affairs, and the situation of his army, and to acquaint him that he had, under these circumstances, found himself necessitated to apply for a cessation of arms, which he should think himself happy to obtain. The courier had not been dispatched above three days, and Stanislaus was not yet set out on his journey to Bender, when Steinbock received the 600,000 livres from the French banker ; a sum which was at that time an immense treasure in a country so desolated. Thus unexpectedly reinforced with money, which is the grand *panacea* for all disorders of state, Steinbock found means to revive the drooping spirits of his soldiery ; he supplied them with all they wanted, raised new recruits, and in a short time saw himself at the head of 12,000 men, and dropping his former intention of procuring a suspension of arms, he sought only for an opportunity of engaging the enemy.

This was the same Steinbock, who, in the year 1710, after the defeat at Pultowa, had revenged the Swedes on the Danes by the eruption he made into Scania, where he marched against and engaged them with only a few militia, whom he had

hastily gathered together, with their arms flung round them with ropes, and totally defeated the enemy. He was like all the other generals of Charles XII. active and enterprising; but his valour was sullied by his brutality: as an instance of which it will be sufficient to relate, that having, after an engagement with the Russians, given orders to kill all the prisoners, and perceiving a Polish officer in the service of the czar who had caught hold of king Stanislaus's stirrup, then on horseback, in order to save his life, Steinbock shot him dead with his pistol in that prince's arms, as has been already mentioned in the life of Charles XII. and king Stanislaus has declared to the author of this history, that had he not been withheld by his respect and gratitude to the king of Sweden, he should immediately have shot Steinbock dead upon the spot.

General Steinbock now marched by the way of Witnaar to meet the combined forces of the Russians, Danes, and Saxons *, and soon found himself near the Danish and Saxon army, which was advanced before that of the Russians about the distance of three leagues. The czar sent three courtiers, one after another, to the king of Denmark, beseeching him to wait his coming up, and thereby avoid the danger which threatened him if he attempted to engage the Swedes with an equality of force; but the Danish monarch not willing to share with any one the honour of a victory which he thought sure, advanced to meet the Swedish general, whom he attacked near a place called Gadebusch. This day's affair gave a further proof of the natural enmity that subsisted be-

* Decr. 9. 1712.

tween the Swedes and Danes. The officers of these two nations fought with most unparalleled inveteracy against each other, and neither side would desist till death terminated the dispute.

Steinbock gained a complete victory before the Russian army could come up to the assistance of the Danes, and the next day received an order from his master Charles to lay aside all thoughts of a suspension of arms, who at the same time upbraided him for having entertained an idea so injurious to his honour, and for which he told him he could make no reparation, but by conquering or perishing. Steinbock had happily obviated the orders and the reproach by the victory he had gained.

But this victory was like that which had formerly brought such a transient consolation to king Augustus, when in the torrent of his misfortunes he gained the battle of Calish against the Swedes, who were conquerors in every other place, and which only served to aggravate his situation, as this of Gadebutch only procrastinated the ruin of Steinbock and his army.

When the king of Sweden received the news of Steinbock's success, he looked upon his affairs as retrieved, and even flattered himself with hopes to engage the Ottoman Porte to declare for him, who at that time seemed disposed to come to a new rupture with the czar. Full of these fond imaginations, he sent orders to general Steinbock to fall upon Poland, being still ready to believe, upon the least shadow of success, that the days of Narva, and those in which he gave laws to his enemies, were again returned. But unhappily he too soon found these glittering hopes utterly blasted by the affair of Bender, and his own captivity amongst the Turks.

The whole fruits of the victory at Gadebusch were confined to the surprising in the night-time, and reducing to ashes the town of Altena, inhabited by traders and manufacturers, a place wholly defenceless, and which not having been in arms, ought by all the laws of war and nations to have been spared: however, it was utterly destroyed; several of the inhabitants perished in the flames, others escaped with their lives, but naked; and a number of old men, women, and children, perished with cold and the fatigue they suffered, at the gates of Hamburg *. Such has too often been the fate of several thousands of men for the quarrels of two only; and this cruel advantage was the only one gained by Steinbock: for the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, pursued him so closely, that he was obliged to beg for an asylum in Loningén, a fortress in the duchy of Hulttein, for himself and army.

This duchy was at that time subjected to the most cruel ravages of any part of the north, and its sovereign was the most miserable of all princes. He was nephew to Charles XII. and it was on his father's account, who had married Charles's sister, that that monarch carried his arms even into the heart of Copenhagen, before the battle of Narva, and for whom he likewise made the treaty of Travendahl, by which the dukes of Holstein were restored to their rights.

This country was in part the cradle of the Cimbri, and of the old Normans, who overrun the province of Neustria in France, and conquered all

* Norberg, the king's chaplain and confessor, in his history, coolly says that general Steinbock set fire to the town, only because he had not carriages to bring away the furniture.

England, Naples, and Sicily, and yet at this present time no state pretends less to make conquests than this part of the ancient Cimbrica Chersonesus, which consists only of two petty duchies; namely, that of Sleswick, belonging in common to the king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein, and that of Gottorp, appertaining to the duke alone. Sleswick is a sovereign principality: Holstein is a branch of the German empire, called the Roman empire.

The king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein Gottorp were of the same family; but the duke, nephew to Charles XII. and presumptive heir to his crown, was the natural enemy of the king of Denmark, who had endeavoured to crush him in the very cradle. One of his father's brothers who was bishop of Lubeck, and administrator of the dominions of his unfortunate ward, now beheld himself in the midst of the Swedish army, whom he durst not succour, and those of Russia, Denmark, and Saxony, that threatened his country with daily destruction. Nevertheless he thought himself obliged to try to save Charles's army, if he could do it without irritating the king of Denmark, who had made himself master of his country, which he exhausted by raising continual contributions.

This bishop and administrator was entirely governed by the famous baron Goertz, the most artful and enterprising man of his age, endued with a genius amazingly penetrating, and fruitful in every resource: with talents equal to the boldest and most arduous attempts, he was insinuating in his negotiations, as he was hardy in his projects. He had the art of pleasing and persuading in the highest degree, and knew how to captivate all hearts by the vivacity of his genius, after he had

won them by the softness of his eloquence. He afterwards gained the same ascendant over Charles XII. which he had then over the bishop; and all the world knows, that he paid with his life the honour he had of governing the most ungovernable and obstinate prince that ever sat upon a throne.

Goertz had a private conference with general Steinbock *, at which he promised to deliver him up the fortress of Toningen, without exposing the bishop administrator his master to any danger, and at the same time gave the strongest assurances to the king of Denmark, that he would defend the place to the utmost. In this manner are almost all negotiations carried on, affairs of state being of a very different nature from those of private persons; the honour of ministers consisting wholly in success, and those of private persons in the observance of their promises.

General Steinbock presented himself before Toningen; the commandant refused to open the gates to him, and by this means puts it out of the king of Denmark's power to allege any cause of complaint against the bishop administrator; but Goertz caused an order to be given in the name of the young duke, a minor, to suffer the Swedish army to enter the town. The secretary of the cabinet, named Stamke, signs this order in the name of the duke of Holstein: by this means Goertz preserves the honour of an infant who had not as yet any power to issue orders; and he at once serves the king of Sweden, to whom he was desirous to make his court, and the bishop administrator his master, who appeared not to have consented to the admission of the Swedish troops. The

* Private memoirs of Bassowitz, Jan. 21. 1712.

governor of Toningén, who was easily gained, delivered up the town to the Swedes, and Goertz excused himself as well as he could to the king of Denmark, by protesting that the whole had been transacted without his consent.

The Swedes retired partly within the walls, and partly under the cannon of the town †: but this did not save them; for general Steinbock was obliged to surrender himself prisoner of war together with his whole army, to the number of 11,000 men, in the same manner as about 16,000 of their countrymen had done at the battle of Pultowa.

By this convention it was agreed, that Steinbock with his officers and men might be ransomed or exchanged. The price for the general's ransom was fixed at 8000 German crowns; a very trifling sum, but which Steinbock however was not able to raise; so that he remained a prisoner in Copenhagen till the day of his death.

The territories of Holstein now remained at the mercy of the incensed conqueror. The young duke became the object of the king of Denmark's vengeance, and was fated to pay for the abuse which Goertz had made of his name; thus did the ill fortune of Charles XII. fall upon all his family.

Goertz perceiving his projects thus dissipated, and being still resolved to act a distinguished part in the general confusion of affairs, recalled to mind a scheme which he had formed to establish a neutrality in the Swedish territories in Germany.

† Baffowitz's memoirs.

The king of Denmark was ready to take possession of Toningen; George, elector of Hanover, was about to seize Bremen and Verden, with the city of Stade; the new-made king of Prussia, Frederic William, cast his views upon Stetin, and czar Peter was preparing to make himself master of Finland; and all the territories of Charles XII. those of Sweden excepted, were going to become the spoils of those who wanted to share them. How then could so many different interests be rendered compatible with a neutrality? Goertz entered into negotiation at one and the same time with all the several princes who had any views in this partition: he continued night and day passing from one province to the other; he engaged the governor of Bremen and Verden to put those two duchies into the hands of the elector of Hanover by way of sequestration, so that the Danes should not take possession of them for themselves: he prevailed with the king of Prussia to accept jointly with the duke of Holstein, of the sequestration of Stetin and Wismaar, in consideration of which the king of Denmark was to act nothing against Holstein, and was not to enter Toningen. It was most certainly a strange way of serving Charles XII. to put his towns into the hands of those who might chuse if they would ever restore them; but Goertz, by delivering these places to them as pledges, bound them to a neutrality, at least for some time; and he was in hopes to be able afterwards to bring Hanover and Brandenburg to declare for Sweden: he prevailed on the king of Prussia, whose ruined dominions stood in need of peace, to enter into his views, and in short he found means to render himself necessary to all these princes, and disposed of the possessions of Charles XII. like a guardian

who gives up one of his ward's estate to preserve the other, and of a ward incapable of managing his affairs himself; and all this without any regular authority or commission, or other warrant for his conduct, than full powers given him by the bishop of Lubeck, who had no authority to grant such powers from Charles himself.

Such was the baron de Goertz, and such his actions, which have not hitherto been sufficiently known. There have been instances of an Oxenstiern, a Richelieu, and an Alberoni, influencing the affairs of all parts of Europe; but that the privy counsellor of a bishop of Lubec should do the same as they, without his conduct being avowed by any one, is a thing hitherto unheard of.

Nevertheless he succeeded to his wishes in the beginning*; for he made a treaty with the king of Prussia, by which that monarch engaged, on condition of keeping Stetin in sequestration, to preserve the rest of Pomerania for Charles X. In virtue of this treaty Goertz made a proposal to the governor of Pomerania, Mayerfield, to give up the fortress of Stetin to the king of Prussia for the sake of peace, thinking that the Swedish governor of Stetin would prove as easy to be persuaded as the Holsteiner who had the command of Tonningen; but the officers of Charles XII were not accustomed to obey such orders. Mayerfield made answer, that no one should enter Stetin but over his dead body and the ruins of the place, and immediately sent notice to his master of the strange proposal. The messenger at his arrival found Charles prisoner at Demirtash, in consequence of his adventure at Bender, and it was doubtful at

* June 1713.

The king of Denmark was ready to take possession of Toningen; George, elector of Hanover, was about to seize Bremen and Verden, with the city of Stade; the new-made king of Prussia, Frederick William, cast his views upon Stetin, and czar Peter was preparing to make himself master of Finland; and all the territories of Charles XII. those of Sweden excepted, were going to become the spoils of those who wanted to share them. How then could so many different interests be rendered compatible with a neutrality? Goertz entered into negotiation at one and the same time with all the several princes who had any views in this partition: he continued night and day passing from one province to the other; he engaged the governor of Bremen and Verden to put those two duchies into the hands of the elector of Hanover by way of sequestration, so that the Danes should not take possession of them for themselves: he prevailed with the king of Prussia to accept jointly with the duke of Holstein, of the sequestration of Stetin and Wismaar, in consideration of which the king of Denmark was to act nothing against Holstein, and was not to enter Toningen. It was most certainly a strange way of serving Charles XII. to put his towns into the hands of those who might chuse if they would ever restore them; but Goertz, by delivering these places to them as pledges, bound them to a neutrality, at least for some time; and he was in hopes to be able afterwards to bring Hanover and Brandenburg to declare for Sweden: he prevailed on the king of Prussia, whose ruined dominions stood in need of peace, to enter into his views, and in short he found means to render himself necessary to all these princes, and disposed of the possessions of Charles XII. like a guardian

who gives up one of his ward's estate to preserve the other, and of a ward incapable of managing his affairs himself; and all this without any regular authority or commission, or other warrant for his conduct, than full powers given him by the bishop of Lubeck, who had no authority to grant such powers from Charles himself.

Such was the baron de Goertz, and such his actions, which have not hitherto been sufficiently known. There have been instances of an Oxenstiern, a Richelieu, and an Alberoni, influencing the affairs of all parts of Europe; but that the privy counsellor of a bishop of Lubec should do the same as they, without his conduct being avowed by any one, is a thing hitherto unheard of.

Nevertheless he succeeded to his wishes in the beginning*; for he made a treaty with the king of Prussia by which that monarch engaged, on condition of keeping Stetin in sequestration, to preserve the rest of Pomerania for Charles X I. In virtue of this treaty Goertz made a proposal to the governor of Pomerania, Mayerfield, to give up the fortress of Stetin to the king of Prussia for the sake of peace, thinking that the Swedish governor of Stetin would prove as easy to be persuaded as the Holsteiner who had the command of Tonningen; but the officers of Charles XII were not accustomed to obey such orders. Mayerfield made answer, that no one should enter Stetin but over his dead body and the ruins of the place, and immediately sent notice to his master of the strange proposal. The messenger at his arrival found Charles prisoner at Demirtash, in consequence of his adventure at Bender, and it was doubtful at

* June 1713.

that time, whether he would not remain all his life in confinement in Turkey, or else be banished to some of the islands in the Archipelago, or some part of Asia under the dominion of the Ottoman Porte. However Charles from his prison sent the same orders to Mayerfeld, as he had done before to Steinbock: namely, rather to perish than to submit to his enemies, and even commanded him to take his inflexibility for his example.

Goertz finding that the governor of Stetin had broke in upon his measures, and would neither hearken to a neutrality nor a sequestration, took into his head not only to sequester the town of Stetin of his own authority, but also the city of Stralsund, and found means to make the same kind of treaty with the king of Poland †, elector of Saxony, for that place, which he had done with the elector of Brandenburg for Stetin. He clearly saw how impossible it would be for the Swedes to keep possession of those places without either men or money, while their king was a captive in Turkey, and he thought himself sure of turning aside the scourge of war from the north by means of these sequestrations. The king of Denmark himself at length gave into the projects of Goertz: the latter had gained an entire ascendant over prince Menzikoff, the czar's general and favourite, whom he had persuaded that the duchy of Holstein must be ceded to his master, and flattered the czar with the prospect of opening a canal from Holstein into the Baltic sea; an enterprize perfectly conformable to the inclination and views of this royal founder; and above all, he laboured to insinuate to him that he might obtain a new encrease of power

† June 1713.

by condescending to become one of the powers of the empire. which would entitle him to a vote in the diet of Ratisbon, a right that he might afterwards for ever maintain by that of arms.

In a word, no one could put on more different appearances, adapt himself to more opposite interests, or act a more complicated part, than did this skilful negociator. He even went so far as to engage prince Menzikoff to ruin the very town of Stetin, which he was endeavouring to save, by bombarding it, in order to force Mayerfield to sequester it into his hands, and offered this unpardonable insult to the king of Sweden, whose good graces he was endeavouring to gain; and in which, at length, to his misfortune, he succeeded but too well.

When the king of Prussia saw a Russian army before Stetin, he found that the place would be lost to him, and remain in the possession of the czar. This was just what Goertz expected and waited for. Prince Menzikoff was in want of money; Goertz got the king of Prussia to lend him 400,000 crowns: he afterwards sent a message to the governor of the place, to know of him "whether he would rather chuse to see Stetin in ashes, and under the dominions of Russia. or to trust it in the hands of the king of Prussia, who would engage to restore it to the king his master?" The commandant at length suffered himself to be persuaded, and gave up the place. which Menzikoff entered, and, in consideration of the 400,000 crowns, delivered it afterwards, together with the territories thereto adjoining, into the hands of the king of Prussia, who, for forms sake, left therein two battalions of the troops of Holstein, but has never since restored that part of Pomerania.

The baron de Goertz, who put so many springs in motion, could not however succeed in prevailing on the Danes to spare the duchy of Holstein, or forbear taking possession of Lönningen. He failed in what appeared to have been his first object, though he succeeded in all his other views, and particularly in that of making himself the most important personage of the north, which indeed was his principal object.

The elector of Hanover had already secured to himself Bremen and Verden, of which Charles XII. was now stripped. The Saxon army was now before Wismar; Stetin was in the hands of the king of Prussia †; the Russians were ready to lay siege to Stralsund, in conjunction with the Saxons and these latter had already landed in the island of Rugen; and the czar, in the midst of the numberless negotiations on all sides, while others were disputing about neutralities and partitions, makes a descent upon Finland. After having himself pointed the artillery against Stralsund, he left the rest to the care of his allies and prince Menzikoff and embarking in the month of May, on the Baltic sea on board a ship of fifty guns, which he himself caused to be built at Petersburg, he sailed for the coast of Finland, followed by a fleet of ninety-two whole, and one hundred and ten half gallies, having on board near sixteen thousand troops ‡. He made his descent at Elsinford, the most southern part of that cold and barren country, lying in 61 degrees north latitude; and notwithstanding the numberless difficulties he had to encounter, succeeded in his design. He caused a feint attack to be made on one side of the harbour, while he

† Sept 1715.

‡ May 22. 1713. N S.

landed his troops on the other, and took possession of the town. He then made himself master of Abo, Borgo, and the whole coast. The Swedes now seemed not to have any resource left; for it was, at this very time, that their army, under the command of general Steinbock, was obliged to surrender prisoners of war at Toningén.

These repeated disasters which befel Charles, were, as we have already shewn, followed by the loss of Bremen, Verden, Stetin, and a part of Pomerania; and that prince himself, with his ally and friend Stanislaus, were both prisoners in Turkey: nevertheless, he was not to be undeceived in the flattering notion he had entertained of returning to Poland, at the head of an Ottoman army, replacing Stanislaus on the throne, and once again making his enemies tremble.

C H A P. V.

Successes of PETER the GREAT.

Return of CHARLES XII into his dominions.

PETER, while he was following the course of his conquests *, completed the establishment of his navy, brought 12,000 families to settle in Petersburg, kept all his allies firm to his person and fortunes, notwithstanding they had all different interests and opposite views; and with his fleet, kept in awe all the sea-ports of Sweden on the gulphs of Finland and Bothnia.

Prince Galitzin, one of his land-generals, whom he had formed himself as he had done all his other officers, advanced from Elfsford, where the czar had made his descent, into the midst of the country, near the village of Lavasthus, which was a post that commanded the gulph of Bothnia, and was defended by a few Swedish regiments, and about 8000 militia. In this situation, a battle was unavoidable †, the event of which proved favourable to the Russians, who entirely routed the whole Swedish army, and penetrated as far as Vaxa, so that they were now masters of about eighty leagues of country.

The Swedes were still in possession of a fleet, with which they kept the sea. Peter had, for a considerable time, waited with impatience for an opportunity of establishing the reputation of his new marine. Accordingly he set out from Petersburg, and having got together a fleet of sixteen

* 1713, 1714.

† March 13. 1714.

ships of the line, and one hundred and eighty gallies, fit for working among the rocks and shoals that surround the island of Aland, and the other islands in the Baltic sea, bordering upon the Swedish coast, he fell in with the fleet of that nation near their own shores. This armament greatly exceeded his in the largeness of the ships, but was inferior in the number of gallies, and more proper for engaging in the open sea, than among rocks, or near the shore. The advantage the czar had in this respect, was entirely owing to himself. He served in the rank of rear-admiral on board his own fleet, and received all the necessary orders from admiral Apraxin. Peter resolved to make himself master of the island Aland, which lies only twelve leagues off the Swedish coast; and tho' obliged to pass full in the view of the enemy's fleet, he effected this bold and hazardous enterprise. His gallies forced a passage through the enemy, whose cannon did not fire low enough to hurt them, and entered Aland; but as that coast is almost surrounded with rocks, the czar caused eighty small gallies, to be transported by men, over a point of land, and launched into the sea, at a place called Hango, where his large ships were at anchor. Erenschild, the Swedish rear-admiral, thinking that he might easily take or sink all these gallies, stood on shore, in order to reconnoitre their situation; but was received with so brisk a fire from the Russian fleet, that most of his men were killed or wounded; and all the gallies and prames he had brought with him were taken, together with his own ship. The admiral himself endeavoured to escape in a boat*; but being wounded, was obliged to surrender himself pris-

* Aug. 8.

oner, and was brought on board the gallies where the czar was, navigating it himself. The scattered remains of the Swedish fleet made the best of their way home, and the news of this accident threw all Stockholm into confusion, which now began to tremble for its own safety.

Much about the same time, colonel Schouvalow Neushlof attacked the only remaining fortress on the western side of Finland, and made himself master of it, after a most obstinate resistance on the part of the besieged.

This affair of Aland, was, next to that of Pultowa, the most glorious that had ever befallen the arms of Peter the Great, who now saw himself master of Finland, the government of which he committed to prince Galitzin, and returned to Petersburg †, victorious over the whole naval force of Sweden, and more than ever respected by his allies; the stormy season now approaching, not permitting him to remain longer with his ships in the Finlandish and Bothnic seas. His good fortune also brought him back to his capital, just as the czarina was brought to bed of a princess, who died, however, about a year afterwards. He then instituted the order of St Catherine, in honour of his consort, and celebrated the birth of his daughter by a triumphal entry, which was, of all the festivals to which he had accustomed his subjects, that which they held in the greatest esteem. This ceremony was ushered in by bringing nine Swedish gallies, and seven prames filled with prisoners, and rear admiral Erenschild's own ship, into the harbour of Cronstadt.

† Sept. 15.

The cannon, colours, and standards taken in the expedition to Finland, and which had come home in the Russian admiral's ship, were brought on this occasion to Petersburg, and entered that metropolis in order of battle. A triumphal arch which the czar had caused to be erected, and which, as usual, was made from a model of his own, was decorated with the insignia of his conquests. Under this arch the victors marched in procession, with admiral Apraxin at their head; then followed the czar in quality of rear-admiral, and the other officers according to their several ranks. They were presented one after another to the vice-admiral Rodamonoski, who, at this ceremony, represented the sovereign. This temporary vice-emperor distributed gold medals among all the officers, and others of silver to the soldiers and sailors. The Swedish prisoners likewise passed under the triumphal arch, and admiral Lrenichild followed immediately after the czar, his conqueror. When they came to the place where the vice-czar was seated on his throne, admiral Apraxin presented to him rear-admiral Peter, who demanded to be made vice-admiral, in regard for his services. It was then put to the vote, if this request should be granted; and it may easily be conceived that he had the majority on his side.

After this ceremony was over, which filled every heart with joy, and inspired every mind with emulation, with a love for his country, and a thirst of fame, the czar made the following speech to those present; a speech which deserves to be transmitted to the latest posterity.

“Countrymen and friends, what man is there among you, who could have thought, twenty years ago, that we should one day fight together on the

Baltic sea, in ships built by our own hands; and that we should establish settlements in countries conquered by our own labours and valour?—Greece is said to have been the ancient seat of the arts and sciences: they afterwards took up their abode in Italy, from whence they spread themselves through every part of Europe. It is now our turn to call them ours, if you will second my designs, by joining study to obedience. The arts circulate in this globe, as the blood does in the human body; and perhaps they may establish their empire amongst us, on their return back to Greece, their mother country; and I even venture to hope, that we may one day put the most civilized nations to the blush, by our noble labours, and the solid glory resulting there-from."

Here is the true substance of this speech, so every way worthy of a great founder, and which has lost its chief beauties in this, and every other translation; but the principal merit of this eloquent harangue, is its having been spoken by a victorious monarch, at once the founder and law-giver of his empire.

The old boyars listened to this speech, with greater regret for the abolition of their ancient customs, than admiration of their master's glory; but the young ones could not hear him without tears of joy.

The splendor of these times was further heightened by the return of the Russian ambassador from Constantinople, with a confirmation of the peace with the turks*: an ambassador sent by Sha Hessein from Persia, had arrived some time before with a present to the czar of an elephant

* Sept. 15. 1714.

and five lions. He received at the same time an ambassador from Mahomet Bahadir, khan of the Usbeck Tartars, requesting his protection against another tribe of Tartars; so that both extremities of Asia and Europe seemed to join to offer him homage, and add to his glory.

The regency of Stockholm, driven to despair by the desperate situation of their affairs, and the absence of their sovereign, who seemed to have abandoned his dominions, had come to a resolution no more to consult him in relation to their proceedings; and immediately after the victory the czar gained over their navy, they sent to their conqueror to demand a passport for an officer charged with proposals of peace. The passport was sent; but just as the person appointed to carry on the negotiation was on the point of setting out, the princess Ulrica Eleonora, sister to Charles XII. received advice from the king her brother, that he was preparing, at length, to quit Turkey, and return home to fight his own battles. Upon this news the regency did not dare to send the negotiator (whom they had already privately named) to the czar: and therefore resolved to support their ill fortune till the arrival of Charles to retrieve it.

In effect, Charles, after a stay of five years and some months in Turkey, set out from that kingdom in the latter end of October 1714. Every one knows that he observed the same singularity in his journey, which characterized all the actions of his life. He arrived at Stralsund the twenty-second of November following. As soon as he got there, baron de Goertz came to pay his court to him; and though he had been the instrument of one part of his misfortunes, yet he justified his

conduct with so much art, and filled the imagination of Charles with such flattering hopes, that he gained his confidence, as he had already done that of every other minister and prince with whom he had entered into any negotiations. In short, he made him believe that means might be found to draw off the czar's allies, and thereby procure an honourable peace, or at least to carry on the war upon an equal footing; and from this time Goertz gained a greater ascendancy over the mind of the king of Sweden than ever count Piper had.

The first thing which Charles did after his arrival at Stralsund, was to demand a supply of money from the citizens of Stockholm, who readily parted with what little they had left, as not being able to refuse any thing to a king, who asked only to bestow, who lived as hard as the meanest soldier, and exposed his life equally in defence of his country. His misfortunes, his captivity, his return to his dominions, so long deprived of his presence, were arguments which prepossessed alike his own subjects and foreigners in his favour, who could not forbear at once to blame and admire, to compassionate and to assist him. His reputation was of a kind totally differing from that of Peter the Great; it consisted not in cherishing the arts and sciences, in enacting laws, in establishing a form of government, nor in introducing commerce among his subjects; it was confined entirely to his own person. He placed his chief merit in a valour superior to what is commonly called courage. He defended his dominions with a greatness of soul equal to that valour, and aimed only to inspire other nations with awe and respect for him; hence he had more partisans than allies.

C H A P. VI.

State of EUROPE at the return of CHARLES XII.
Siege of STRALSUND.

WHEN Charles XII. returned to his dominions in the year 1714, he found the state of affairs in Europe very different from that in which he had left them. Queen Anne of England was dead, after having made peace with France. Lewis XIV. had secured the monarchy of Spain for his grandson, the duke of Anjou, and had obliged the emperor Charles VI. and the Dutch to agree to a peace, which their situation rendered necessary to them; so that the affairs of Europe had put on altogether a new face.

Those of the north had undergone a still greater change. Peter was become sole arbiter in that part of the world: the elector of Hanover, who had been called to fill the British throne, had views of extending his territories in Germany, at the expence of Sweden, who had never had any possessions in that country, but since the reign of the great Gustavus. The king of Denmark aimed at recovering Scania, the best province in Sweden, which had formerly belonged to the Danes. The king of Prussia, as heir to the dukes of Pomerania, laid claim to a part of that province. On the other hand, the Holstein family, oppressed by the king of Denmark, and the duke of Mecklenburg, almost at open war with his subjects, were suing to Peter the Great to take them under his protection. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was desirous to have the duchy of Courland annexed to Poland; so that, from the Elbe to the Baltic sea, Peter was

considered as the support of the several crowned heads, as Charles XII. had been their greatest terror.

Many negotiations were set on foot after the return of Charles to his dominions, but nothing had been done. That prince thought he could raise a sufficient number of ships of war and privateers, to put a stop to the rising power of the czar by sea; with respect to the land-war, he depended upon his own valour; and Goertz, who was on a sudden become his prime minister, persuaded him, that he might find means to defray the expence, by coining copper money to be taken at ninety-six times more than its real value, a thing unparalleled in the histories of any state; but, in the month of April 1715, the first Swedish privateers that put to sea were taken by the czar's men of war, and a Russian army marched into the heart of Pomerania.

The Prussians, Danes, and Saxons, now sat down with their united forces before Stralsund; and Charles XII. beheld himself returned from his confinement at Demirtash, and Demirtoca on the Black sea, only to be more closely pent up on the borders of the Baltic.

We have already shewn, in the history of this extraordinary man, with what haughty and unembarrassed resolution he braved the united forces of his enemies when in Stralsund; and shall therefore, in this place, only add a single circumstance, which, though trivial, may serve to shew the peculiarity of his character. The greatest part of his officers having been either killed or wounded during the siege, the duty fell hard upon the few who were left. Baron de Reichel, a colonel, having sustained a long engagement upon the ram-

parts, and being tired out with repeated watches and fatigues, had thrown himself upon a bench to take a little repose. When he was called up to mount guard again upon the ramparts, as he was dragging himself along, hardly able to stand, and cursing the obstinacy of the king his master, who subjected all those about him to such insufferable and fruitless fatigues, Charles happened to overhear him: upon which, stripping off his own cloak, he spread it on the ground before him, saying, "My dear Reichel, you are quite spent, come, I have had an hour's sleep, which has refreshed me, I'll take the guard for you, while you finish your nap, and will wake you when it is time;" and so saying, he wrapt the colonel up in his cloak; and notwithstanding all his resistance, obliged him to lie down to sleep, and mounted the guard himself.

It was during this siege that the elector of Hanover, lately made king of England, purchased of the king of Denmark the province of Bremen and Verden, with the city of Stade *, which the Danes had taken from Charles XII. This purchase cost king George 800 000 German crowns. In this manner were the dominions of Charles bartered away, while he defended the city of Stralsund, inch by inch, till at length nothing was left of it but a heap of ruins, which his officers compelled him to leave †; and when he was in a place of safety, general Duker delivered up those ruins to the king of Prussia.

Some time afterwards, Duker being presented to Charles, that monarch reproached him with having capitulated with his enemies; when Duker replied, "I had too great a regard for your majesty's honour, to continue to defend a place which

* Oct. 1715.

† Dec. 13.

you was obliged to leave." However, the Prussians continued in possession of it no longer than the year 1721, when they gave it up at the general peace.

During the siege of Stralsund Charles received another mortification which would have been still more severe, if his heart had been as sensible to the emotions of friendship, as it was to those of fame and honour. His prime minister, count Piper, a man famous throughout all Europe, and of unshaken fidelity to his prince (notwithstanding the assertions of some rash persons, or the authority of a mistaken writer :) this Piper, I say, had been the victim of his masters ambition ever since the battle of Pultowa. As there was at that time no cartel for the exchange of prisoners subsisting between the Russians and Swedes, he had remained in confinement at Moscow; and altho' he had not been sent into Siberia, as the other prisoners were, yet his situation was greatly to be pitied. The czar's finances at that time were not managed with so much fidelity as they ought to be, and his many new establishments required an expence which he could with difficulty answer. In particular, he owed a considerable sum of money to the Dutch, on account of two of their merchantships which had been burnt on the coast of Finland in the descent the czar had made on that country. Peter pretended that the Swedes were to make good the damage, and wanted to engage count Piper to charge himself with this debt: accordingly he was sent for from Moscow to Petersburg, and his liberty was offered him, in case he could draw upon Sweden letters of exchange to the amount of 60,000 crowns. It is said that he actually did draw bills for this sum upon his wife at Stockholm,

but that the being either unable or unwilling to take them up, they were returned, and the king of Sweden never gave himself the least concern about paying the money. Be this as it may, count Piper was closely confined in the castle of Schlus-felbourg, where he died the year after, at the age of seventy. His remains were sent to the king of Sweden, who gave them a magnificent burial; a vain and melancholy return to an old servant, for a life of suffering, and so deplorable an end!

Peter was satisfied with having got possession of Livonia, Estonia, Carelia, and Ingria, which he looked upon as his own provinces, and to which he had, moreover, added almost all Finland, which served as a kind of pledge, in case his enemies should conclude a peace. He had married one of his nieces to Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburg, in the month of April of the same year*, so that all the sovereigns, of the north were now either his allies or his creatures. In Poland, he kept the enemies of king Augustus in awe; one of his armies, consisting of about 8000 men, having without any loss, quelled several of these confederacies, which are so frequent in that country of liberty and anarchy: on the other hand, the Turks, by strictly observing their treaties, left him at full liberty to exert his power, and execute his schemes in their utmost extent.

In this flourishing situation of his affairs, scarcely a day passed without being distinguished by new establishments, either in the navy, the army, or the legislature: he himself composed a military code for the infantry.

He likewise founded a naval academy at Petersburg †; dispatched Lange to China by the way of

* 1715. † Nov. 8.

Siberia, with a commission of trade; set mathematicians to work, in drawing charts of the whole empire; built a summer palace at Petershoff, and at the same time built forts on the banks of the Irtysh, stopped the incursions and ravages of the Bukari on the one side, and, on the other, suppressed the Tartars of Kouban.

His prosperity seemed now to be at its zenith ‡, by the empress Catherine's being delivered of a son, and an heir to his dominions being given him in a prince born to the Czarowitz Alexis. But the joy of these happy events, which fell out within a few days of each other, was soon damped by the death of the empress's son: and the sequel of this history will shew us, that the fate of the Czarowitz was too unfortunate, for the birth of a son to this prince to be looked upon as an happiness.

The delivery of the czarina put a stop for some time to her accompanying, as usual, her royal consort in all his expeditions by sea and land; but, as soon as she was up again, she followed him to new adventures.

C H A P VII.

New Travels of the C Z A R.

WISMAR was at this time besieged by the czar's allies. This town, which belonged of right to the duke of Mecklenburg, is situated on the Baltic, above seven leagues distant from Lubeck, and might have rivalled that city in its extensive trade, being once one of the most considerable of the Hanse towns. The duke of Mecklenburg exercised therein a full power of protection, rather than of sovereignty. This was one of the German territories yet remaining to the Swedes, in virtue of the peace of Westphalia: but it was now obliged to share the same fate with Stralsund. The allies of the czar pushed the siege with the greatest vigour, in order to make themselves master of it before the prince's troops should arrive; but Peter himself coming before the place in person, after the capitulation*, which had been made without his privacy, made the garrison prisoners of war. He was not a little incensed, that his allies should have left the king of Denmark in possession of a town which was the right of a prince who had married his niece; and his resentment on this occasion, which that artful minister de Goertz soon after turned to his own advantage, laid the first foundation of the peace, which he meditated to bring about between the czar and Charles XII.

Goertz took the first opportunity to insinuate to the czar that Sweden was sufficiently humbled, and that he should be careful not to suffer Den-

* Feb. 1716.

mark and Prussia to become too powerful. The czar joined in opinion with him, and as he had entered into the war, merely from motives of policy, while Charles carried it on wholly on the principles of a warrior; he, from that instant, slackened in his operations against the Swedes, and Charles, every where unfortunate in Germany, determined to risk one of those desperate strokes which success only can justify, and carried the war into Norway.

In the mean time, Peter was desirous to make a second tour through Europe. He had undertaken the first, as a person who travelled for instruction in the arts and sciences; but this second he made as a prince, who wanted to dive into the secrets of the several courts. He took the czarina with him to Copenhagen. Lubeck, Schwerin, and Nyfadt. He had an interview with the king of Prussia at the little town of Aversberg, from thence he and the empress went to Hamburg, and to Altena, which had been burned by the Swedes, and which they caused to be rebuilt. Descending the Elbe as far as Stade, they passed through Bremen, where the magistrates prepared a fire-work and illuminations for them, which formed, in an hundred different places, these words, "Our Deliverer is come amongst us *". At length he arrived once more at Amsterdam, and visited the little hut at Saerдам, where he had first learned the art of ship building, about eighteen years before, and found his old dwelling converted into a handsome and commodious house, which is still to be seen, and goes by the name of the prince's house.

* Dec. 17, 1716.

It may easily be conceived, with what a kind of idolatry he was received by a trading and sea faring set of people, whose companion he had heretofore been, and who thought they saw in the conqueror of Pultowa, a pupil who had learned from them to gain naval victories; and had, after their example, established trade and navigation in his own dominions. In a word, they looked upon him as a fellow-citizen, who had been raised to the imperial dignity.

The life, the travels, the actions of Peter the Great, as well as of his rival Charles of Sweden, exhibit a surprising contrast to the manners which prevail amongst us, and which are, perhaps, rather too delicate; and this may be one reason, that the history of these two famous men so much excites our curiosity.

The czarina had been left behind at Schwerin indisposed, being greatly advanced in her pregnancy; nevertheless, as soon as she was able to travel, she set out to join the czar in Holland, but was taken in labour at Wesel, and there delivered of a prince †, who lived but one day. It is not customary with us for a lying-in-woman to stir abroad for some time; but the czarina set out, and arrived at Amsterdam in ten days after her labour. She was very desirous to see the little cabin her husband had lived and worked in. Accordingly she and the czar went together, without any state or attendance, excepting only two servants, and dined at the house of a rich ship builder at Saardam, whose name was Kalf, and who was one of the first who had traded to Petersburg. His son had lately arrived from France, whither Peter was going. The czar and czarina took great pleasure in hearing an adventure of this young man, which

† July 14. 1717.

I should not mention here, only as it may shew to serve the great difference between the manners of that country and ours.

Old Kalf, who had sent this son of his to Paris, to learn the French tongue, was desirous that he should live in a genteel manner during his stay there; and accordingly had ordered him to lay aside the plain garb which the inhabitants of Saar-dam are in general accustomed to wear, and to provide himself with fashionable cloaths at Paris, and to live, in a manner, rather suitable to his fortune than his education; being sufficiently well acquainted with his son's disposition, to know that this indulgence would have no bad effect on his natural frugality and sobriety.

As a calf is in the French language called *Veau*, our young traveller, when he arrived at Paris, took the name of *De Veau*. He lived in a splendid manner, spent his money freely, and made several genteel connections. Nothing is more common at Paris, than to bestow, without reserve, the title of count and marquis, whether a person has any claim to it or not, or even if he is barely a gentleman. This absurd practice has been allowed by the government, in order that by thus confounding all ranks, and consequently humbling the nobility, there might be less danger of civil wars, which, in former times, were so frequent and destructive to the peace of the state. In a word, the title of marquis and count, without possessions equivalent to that dignity are like those of knight, without being of any order; or abbe without any church-preferment; of no consequence, and not looked upon by the sensible part of the nation.

Young Mr. Kalf was always called the count de Veau by his acquaintance and his own servants: he frequently made one in the parties of the prin-

cesses; he played at the duchess of Berri's, and few strangers were treated with greater marks of distinction, or had more general invitations among polite company. A young nobleman, who had been always one of his companions in these parties, promised to pay him a visit at Saardam, and was as good as his word. When he arrived at the village, he enquired for the house of count Kalf; when being shewn into a carpenter's work shop, he there saw his former gay companion, the young count, dressed in a jacket and trowsers, after the Dutch fashion, with an ax in his hand, at the head of his father's workmen. Here he was received by his friend, in that plain manner to which he had been accustomed from his birth and from which he never deviated. The sensible reader will forgive this little digression, as it is a satire on vanity, and a panegyric on true manners.

The czar continued three months in Holland, during which he passed his time in matters of a more serious nature than the adventure just related. Since the treaties of Nineguen, Ryswick, and Utrecht, the Hague had preserved the reputation of being the center of negotiations in Europe. This little city, or rather village, the most pleasant of any in the north, is chiefly inhabited by foreign ministers, and by travellers, who come for instruction to this great school. They were at that time laying the foundation of a great revolution in Europe. The czar having gotten intelligence of the approaching storm, prolonged his stay in the Low Countries, that he might be nearer at hand, to observe the machinations going forward, both in the north and south, and prepare himself for the part which it might be necessary for him to act therein.

C H A P. VIII.

Continuation of the travels of PETER the GREAT.
Conspiracy of baron GOERTZ. Reception of
the czar in FRANCE.

PETER plainly saw that his allies were jealous of his power, and found that there is often more trouble with friends than with enemies.

Mecklenburg was one of the principal subjects of those divisions, which almost always subsist between neighbouring princes, who share in conquests. Peter was not willing that the Danes should take possession of Wismar for themselves, and still less that they should demolish the fortifications, and yet they did both the one and the other.

He openly protected the duke of Mecklenburg, who had married his niece, and whom he regarded like a son-in-law, against the nobility of the country, and the king of England as openly protected the latter. On the other hand, he was greatly discontented with the king of Poland, or rather with the minister, count Fleming, who wanted to throw off that dependence on the czar, which necessity and gratitude had imposed.

The courts of England, Poland, Denmark, Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg were feverally agitated with intrigues and cabals.

Towards the end of the year 1716, and beginning of 1717, Goertz, who, as Bassevitz tells us in his memoirs, was weary of having only the title of counsellor of Holstein, and being only private plenipotentiary to Charles XII. was the chief promoter of these intrigues, with which he intend-

ed to disturb the peace of all Europe. His design was to bring Charles XII. and the czar together, not only with a view to finish the war between them, but to unite them in friendship, to replace Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, and to wrest Bremen and Verden out of the hands of George I. king of England, and even to drive that prince from the English throne, in order to put it out of his power to appropriate to himself any part of the spoils of Charles XII.

There was at the same time a minister of his own character, who had formed a design to overturn the two kingdoms of England and France: this was cardinal Alberoni, who had more power at that time in Spain, than Goertz had in Sweden, and was of as bold and enterprising a spirit as himself, but much more powerful, as being at the head of affairs, in a kingdom infinitely more rich, and who never paid his creatures and dependents in copper-money.

Goertz, from the borders of the Baltic sea, soon formed a connection with Alberoni in Spain. The cardinal and he both held a correspondence with all the wandering English who were in the interest of the house of Stuart. Goertz made visits to every place where he thought he was likely to find any enemies of king George, and went successively to Germany, Holland, Flanders, and Lorrain, and at length came to Paris, about the end of the year 1716. Cardinal Alberoni began, by remitting to him in Paris, a million of French livres, in order, to use the cardinal's own expression, to set fire to the train.

Goertz proposed, that Charles XII. should yield up several places to the czar, in order to be in a condition to recover all the others from his ene-

mies, and that he might be at liberty to make a descent in Scotland, while the partisans of the Stuart family should make an effectual rising in England. After their former vain attempts to effect these views, it was necessary to deprive the king of England of his chief support, which at that time was the regent of France. It was certainly very extraordinary, to see France in league with England, against the grandson of Lewis XIV. whom she herself had placed on the throne of Spain, at the expence of her blood and treasure, notwithstanding the strong confederacy formed to oppose him; but it must be considered, that every thing was now out of its natural order, and the interests of the regent not those of the kingdom. Alberoni, at that time, was carrying on a confederacy in France against this very regent. And the foundations of this grand project were laid almost as soon as the plan itself had been formed. Goertz was the first who was let into the secret, and was to have made a journey into Italy in disguise, to hold a conference with the pretender, in the neighbourhood of Rome; from thence he was to have hastened to the Hague, to have an interview with the czar, and then to have settled every thing with the king of Sweden.

The author of this history is particularly well informed of every circumstance here advanced; for baron Goertz proposed to him to accompany him in these journeys; and notwithstanding he was very young at that time, he was one of the first witnesses to a great part of these intrigues.

Goertz returned to Holland in the latter part of 1710, furnished with bills of exchange from cardinal Alberoni, and letters plenipotentiary from Charles XII. It is incontestible that the Ja-

cobite party were to have made a rising in England, while Charles, in his return from Norway, was to make a descent in the North of Scotland. This prince, who had not been able to preserve his own dominions on the continent, was now going to invade and overturn those of his neighbours; and just escaped from his prison in Turkey, and from amidst the ruins of his own city of Stralsund, Europe might have beheld him placing the crown of Great Britain on the head of the son of James II. in London, as he had before done that of Poland on Stanislaus at Warsaw.

The czar, who was acquainted with a part of Goertz's projects, waited for the unfolding of the rest, without entering into any of his plans, or indeed knowing them all. He was as fond of great and extraordinary enterprizes as Charles XII. Goertz, or Alberoni; but then it was as the founder of a state, a law giver, and a sound politician; and perhaps Alberoni, Goertz, and even Charles himself, were rather men of restless souls, who sought after great adventures, than persons of solid understanding, who took their measures with a just precaution; or perhaps after all, their ill successes may have subjected them to the charge of rashness and imprudence.

During Goertz's stay at the Hague, the czar did not see him as it would have given too much umbrage to his friends the States-General, who were in close alliance with, and attached to the party of the king of England; and even his ministers visited him only in private, and with great precaution, having orders from their master to hear all he had to offer and to flatter him with hopes, without entering into any engagement, or making use of the czar's name in their conferences. But not-

withstanding all these precautions, those who understood the nature of affairs plainly saw by his inactivity, when he might have made a descent upon Scania with the joint fleets of Russia and Denmark by his visible coolness towards his allies, and the little regard he paid to their complaints, and lastly, by this journey of his, that there was a great change in affairs, which would very soon manifest itself.

In the month of January, 1717, a Swedish packet-boat, which was carrying letters over to Holland, being forced by a storm upon the coast of Norway, put into harbour there. The letters were seized, and those of baron de Goertz and some other public ministers being opened, furnished sufficient evidence of the projected revolution. The court of Denmark communicated these letters to the English ministry, who gave orders for arresting the Swedish minister Gillemburg then at the court of London, and seizing his papers; upon examining which they discovered part of his correspondence with the Jacobites.

King George immediately wrote to the states-general *, requiring them to cause the person of baron Goertz to be arrested, agreeable to the treaty of union subsisting between England and that republic for their mutual security. But this minister, who had his creatures and emissaries in every part, was quickly informed of this order; upon which he instantly quitted the Hague, and was got as far as Arnheim, a town on the frontiers, when the officers and guards, who were in pursuit of him, and who are seldom accustomed to use such diligence in that country, came up with and took

* Feb. 1717.

him, together with all his papers. He was strictly confined and severely treated; and secretary Stank, the person who had counterfeited the sign manual of the young duke of Holstein in the affair of Toningen, experienced still harsher usage. In fine, the count of Gillemburg, the Swedish envoy to the court of Great Britain, and the baron de Goertz, minister plenipotentiary from Charles XII. were examined like criminals, the one at London, and the other at Arnheim, while all the foreign ministers exclaimed against this violation of the law of nations.

This privilege, which is much more insisted upon than understood, and whose limits and extent have never yet been fixed, has in almost every age received violent attacks. Several ministers have been driven from the courts where they resided in a public character, and even their persons have been more than once seized upon, but this was the first instance of foreign ministers being interrogated at the bar of a court of justice, as if they were natives of the country. The court of London and the States-General laid aside all rules upon seeing the dangers which menaced the house of Hanover; but in fact, this danger, when once discovered, ceased to be any longer danger, at least at that juncture.

The historian Norberg must have been very ill informed, or have had a very indifferent knowledge of men and things, or at least been strangely blinded by partiality, or under severe restrictions from his own court, to endeavour to persuade his readers, that the king of Sweden had not a very great share in this plot.

The affront offered to his ministers fixed Charles more than ever in his resolution to try every means

to dethrone the king of England. But here he found it necessary, once in his life-time, to make use of dissimulation. He disowned his ministers and their proceedings both to the regent of France and the States General, from the former of whom he expected a subsidy, and with the latter it was for his interest to keep fair. He did not however give the king of England so much satisfaction. His ministers Goertz and Gillemburg were kept six months in confinement, and this repeated insult animated in him the desire of revenge.

Peter, in the midst of all these alarms and jealousies, kept himself quiet, waiting with patience the event of all from time; and having established such good order throughout his vast dominions, as that he had nothing to fear either at home or from abroad, he resolved to make a journey to France. Unhappily he did not understand the French language, by which means he was deprived of the greatest advantage he might have reaped from his journey; but he thought there might be something there worthy observation, and had a mind to be a near witness of the terms on which the regent stood with the king of England, and whether that prince was staunch to his alliance.

Peter the Great was received in France as such a monarch ought to be. Marshal Tesse was sent to meet him, with a number of the principal lords of the court, a company of guards, and the king's coaches; but he, according to his usual custom, travelled with such expedition, that he was at Tournay when the equipages arrived at Elbeuf. Entertainments were made for him in every place on the road where he chose to partake of them. On his arrival he was received in the Louvre, where the royal apartments were prepared for him,

and others for the princes Kourakin and Dolgorouki. the vice chancellor Shaffiroff, the ambassador Toltsoy, the same who had suffered in his person that notorious violation of the laws of nations in Turkey, and for the rest of his retinue. Orders were given for lodging and entertaining him in the most splendid and sumptuous manner. But Peter, who was come only to see what might be of use to him, and not to suffer these ceremonious triflings, which were a restraint upon his natural plainness, and consumed a time that was precious to him, went the same night to take up his lodgings at the other end of the city, in the Hotel of Lesdiguiere belonging to the Marshal Villeroy, where he was entertained at the king's expence in the same manner as he would have been at the Louvre. The next day the regent of France went to make him a visit in this hotel *, and the day afterwards the young king, then an infant, was sent to him under the care of his governor the Marshal de Villeroy, whose father had been governor to Lewis XIV. On this occasion they by a polite artifice spared the czar the troublesome restraint of returning this visit immediately after receiving it, by allowing an interval of two days for him to receive the respects of the several corporations of the city. The second night he went to visit the king: the household were all under arms, and they brought the young king quite to the door of the czar's coach. Peter, surprized and uneasy at the prodigious concourse of people assembled about the infant monarch, took him in his arms, and carried him in that manner for some time.

* May 8. 1717.

Certain ministers of more cunning than understanding, have pretended in their writings, that marshal Villeroi wanted to make the young king of France take the upper hand on this occasion, and that the czar made use of this stratagem to overturn the ceremonial under the appearance of good nature and tenderness: but this notion is equally false and absurd. The natural good breeding of the French court, and the respect due to the person of Peter the Great, would not permit a thought of turning the honours intended him into an affront. The ceremonial consisted in doing every thing for a great monarch and a great man, that he himself could have desired, if he had given any attention to matters of this kind. The journeys of the emperors Charles IV. Sigismund, and Charles V. to France, were by no means comparable, in point of splendor, to this of Peter the Great. They visited this Kingdom only from motives of political interest, and at a time when the arts and sciences, as yet in their infancy, could not render the æra of their journey so memorable: but when Peter the Great, on his going to dine with the duke d'Antin in the palace of Petitbourg, about three leagues out of Paris, saw his own picture, which had been drawn for the occasion, brought on a sudden, and placed in a room where he was, he then found that no people in the world knew so well how to receive such a guest as the French.

He was still more surprised, when, on going to see them strike the medals in the long gallery of the Louvre, where all the king's artists are so handsomely lodged; a medal which they were then striking happening to fall to the ground, the Czar stooped hastily down to take it up, when he beheld

his own head engraved thereon, and on the reverse a Fame standing with one foot upon a globe and underneath these words from Virgil, "*Vires acquirit eundo*;" an allusion equally delicate and noble, and elegantly adapted to his travels and his fame. Several of these medals in gold were presented to him, and to all those who attended him. Wherever he went to view the works of any artists they laid the master-pieces of their performances at his feet, which they besought him to accept. In a word, when he visited the manufactures of the Gobilins, the work-shop of the king's Statuaries, painters, Goldsmiths, jewelers, or mathematic instrument-makers, whatever seemed to strike his intention at any of those places, were always offered him in the king's name.

Peter, who was a mechanic, an artist, and a geometrician, went to visit the academy of sciences, who received him with an exhibition of every thing they had most valuable and curious, but they had nothing so curious as himself. He corrected with his own hand several geographical errors in the charts of his own dominions, and especially in those of the Caspian sea. Lastly, he condescended to become one of the members of that academy, and afterwards continued a correspondence in experiments and discoveries with those among whom he had enrolled himself as a simple brother. If we could find examples of such travellers as Peter, we must go back to the times of a Pythagoras and an Anacharsis; and even they did not quit the command of a mighty empire, to go in search of instruction.

And here we cannot forbear recalling to the mind of the reader the transport with which Peter the Great was seized on viewing the monument of

cardinal Richelieu. Regardless of the beauties of the sculpture, which is a master-piece of its kind, he only admired the image of a minister who had rendered himself famous throughout Europe by disturbing its peace, and restoring to France that glory which she had lost after the death of Henry IV. It is well known, that, embracing the statue with rapture, he burst forth into this exclamation: "Great man! I would have bestowed one half of my empire on thee to have taught me to govern the other." And now, before he quitted France, he was desirous to see the famous Madam de Maintenon, whom he knew in fact to be the widow of Lewis XIV. and who was now drawing near her end. His curiosity was the more excited by the kind of conformity he found between his own marriage and that of Lewis; though with this difference between the king of France and him, that he had publicly married an heroine, whereas Lewis XIV. had only privately enjoyed an aimable wife.

The czarina did not accompany her husband in this journey: he was apprehensive that the excess of ceremony would be troublesome to her, as well as the curiosity of a court little capable of distinguishing the true merit of a woman, who had braved death by the side of her husband both by sea and land, from the banks of the Pruth to the coast of Finland.

C H A P. IX.

Of the return of the czar to his dominions. Of his politics and occupations.

THE behaviour of the Sorbonne to Peter when he went to visit the mausoleum of cardinal Richelieu, deserves to be treated of by itself.

Some doctors of this university were desirous to have the honour of bringing about an union between the Greek and Latin churches. Those who are acquainted with antiquity need not be told, that the Christian religion was first introduced into the West by the Asiatic Greeks; that it was born in the East, and that the first fathers, the first councils, the first liturgies, and the first rites, were all from the East; that there is not a single title or office in the hierarchy, but was in Greek, and thereby plainly shews the source from whence they were all derived to us. Upon the division of the Roman empire, it was next to impossible, but that sooner or later there must be two religions as well as two empires, and that the same schism should arise between the eastern and western Christians, as between the followers of Osman and the Persians.

It is this schism which certain doctors of the Sorbonne thought to crush all at once by means of a memorial which they presented to Peter the Great and effect what Pope Leo IX. and his successors, had in vain laboured for many ages to bring about, by legates, councils, and even money. These doctors should have known, that Peter the Great, who was the head of the Russian church, was not likely to acknowledge the pope's authority.

They expatiated in their memorial on the liberties of the Gallican church, which the czar gave himself no concern about. They asserted that the popes ought to be subject to the councils, and that a papal decree is not an article of faith: but their representations were in vain; all they got for their pains, was to make the pope their enemy by such free declarations, at the same time that they pleased neither the czar nor the Russian church.

There was in this plan of union certain political views, which the good fathers did not understand, and some points of controversy which they pretended to understand, and which each party explained as they thought proper. It was concerning the Holy Ghost, which according to the Latin church, proceeds from the Father and the Son and which at present, according to the Greeks, proceeds from the Father through the Son after having for a considerable time proceeded from the Father only: on this occasion they quoted a passage in St Epiphanius, where it is said, "that the Holy Ghost is neither brother to the Son, nor grandson to the Father."

But Peter, when he left Paris, had other business to mind, than that of clearing up passages in St. Epiphanius. Nevertheless, he received the memorial of the Sorbonne with his accustomed affability. That learned body wrote to some of the Russian bishops, who returned a polite answer, though the major part of them were offended at the proposed union. It was in order to remove any apprehensions of such an union that Peter, some time afterwards, namely, in 1718, when he had driven the Jesuits out of his dominions, instituted the ceremony of a burlesque conclave.

He had at his court an old fool, named Jotof, who had learned him to write, and who thought he had, by that trivial service, merited the highest honours and most important post. Peter, who sometimes softened the toils of government, by indulging his people in amusements, which befitted a nation as yet not entirely reformed by his labours, promised his writing-master, to bestow on him one of the highest dignities in the world; accordingly, he appointed him *knés papa*, or supreme pontiff, with an appointment of 2000 crowns, and assigned him a house to live in, in the Tartarian quarter at Petersburg. He was installed by a number of buffoons, with great ceremony, and four fellows who stammered were appointed to harangue him on his accession. He created a number of cardinals, and marched in procession at their head, and the whole sacred college was made drunk with brandy. After the death of this Jotof, an officer, named Buturlin, was made pope. This ceremony has been thrice renewed at Moscow and Petersburg, the ridiculousness of which, tho' it appeared of no moment, yet has, by its ridiculousness, confirmed the people in their aversion to a church, which pretended to the supreme power, and whose church had anathematized so many crowned heads. In this manner, did the czar revenge the cause of twenty emperors of Germany, ten kings of France, and a number of other sovereigns; and this was all the advantage the Sorbonne gained from its politic attempt to unite the Latin and Greek churches.

The czar's journey to France proved of more utility to his kingdom, by bringing about a connection with a trading and industrious people, than could have arisen from the projected union between two rival churches; one of which will al-

ways maintain its ancient independence, and the other its new superiority.

Peter carried several artificers with him out of France, in the same manner as he had done out of England; for every nation which he visited, thought it an honour to assist him in his design of introducing the arts and sciences into his new formed state, and to be instrumental in this species of new creation.

In this expedition, he drew up a sketch of a treaty of commerce with France, and which he put into the hands of his ministers at Holland, as soon as he returned thither, but was not signed by the French ambassador Chateaucut till the 13th of August 1717, at the Hague. This treaty not only related to trade, but likewise to bring about peace in the north. The king of France and the elector of Brandenburg accepted of the office of mediators, which Peter offered them. This was sufficient to give the king of England to understand, that the czar was not well pleased with him, and crowned the hopes of baron Goertz, who, from that time, left nothing undone to bring about an union between Charles and Peter, to stir up new enemies against George the first, and to assist cardinal Alberoni in his schemes in every part of Europe. Goertz now paid and received visits publicly from the czar's ministers at the Hague, to whom he declared, that he was invested with full power from the court of Sweden to conclude a peace.

The czar suffered Goertz to dispose all his batteries, without assisting therein himself, and was prepared either to make peace with the king of Sweden, or to carry on the war, and continued still in alliance with the kings of Denmark, Poland

and Prussia, and in appearance with the elector of Hanover.

It was evident that he had no fixed design, but that of profiting of conjunctures and circumstances, and that his main object was to compleat the general establishments he had set on foot. He well knew, that the negotiations and interests of princes, their leagues, their friendships, their jealousies, and their enmities, were subject to change with each revolving year, and that frequently not the smallest traces remain of the greatest efforts in politics. A simple manufactory, well established, is often of more real advantage to a state than twenty treaties.

Peter having joined the czarina, who was waiting for him in Holland, continued his travels with her. They crossed Westphalia, and arrived at Berlin in a private manner. The new king of Prussia was as much an enemy to ceremonious vanities, and the pomp of a court, as Peter himself; and it was an instructive lesson to the *etiquette* of Vienna and Spain, the *punctilio* of Italy, and the politesse of the French court, to see a king, who only made use of a wooden elbow-chair, who went always in the dress of a common soldier, and who had banished from his table not only all the luxuries, but even the more moderate indulgences of life.

The czar and czarina observed the same plain manner of living; and had Charles been with them, the world might have beheld four crowned heads, with less pomp and state about them, than a German bishop, or a cardinal of Rome. Never were luxury and effeminacy opposed by such noble examples.

It cannot be denied, that if one of our fellow-subjects had, from mere curiosity, made the fifth part of the journeys that Peter did for the good of his kingdom, he would have been considered as an extraordinary person, and one who challenged our consideration. From Berlin he went to Dantzick, still accompanied by his wife, and from thence to Mittau, where he protected his niece, the duchess of Courland, lately become a widow. He visited all the places he had conquered, made several new and useful regulations in Petersburg; he then goes to Moscow, where he rebuilds the houses of several persons that had fallen to ruin; from thence he transports himself to Czaritfin, on the river Wolga, to stop the inructions of the Cuban Tartars; constructs lines of communication from the Wolga to the Don, and erects forts at certain distances, between the two rivers. At the same time he caused the military code, which he had lately composed, to be printed, and erected a court of justice, to examine into the conduct of his ministers, and to retrieve the disorders in his finances.

He pardons several who were found guilty, and punishes others. Among the latter, was the great prince Menzikoff himself, who stood in need of the royal clemency. But a sentence more severe, which he thought himself obliged to utter against his own son, filled with bitterness those days, which were in other respects, covered with so much glory.



C H A P. X.

Proceedings against prince ALEXIS PETROWITZ.

PETER the Great, at the age of seventeen, had married, in the year 1689, Eudocia Theodora, or Theodorouna Lapukin. Bred up in the prejudices of her country, and incapable of surmounting them like her husband, the greatest opposition he met with in erecting his empire, and forming his people came from her: she was, as is too common for her sex, a slave to superstition: every new and useful alteration she looked upon as a species of sacrilege; and every foreigner, whom the czar employed to execute his great designs appeared to her no better than as corruptors and innovators.

Her open and public complaints gave encouragement to the factious, and those who were the advocates for ancient customs and manners. Her conduct, in other respects, by no means made amends for such heavy imperfections. The czar was at length obliged to repudiate her in 1696, and shut her up in a convent at Susdal, where they obliged her to take the veil under the name of Helena.

The son, whom he had by her in 1690, was born unhappily with the disposition of his mother, and that disposition received additional strength from his very first education. My memoirs say, that he was entrusted to the care of superstitious men, who ruined his understanding for ever. It was in vain that they hoped to correct these first impressions, by giving him foreigners; their very quality of being foreigners disgusted him. He was not born destitute of genius; he spoke and wrote

German well; he had a tolerable notion of designing, and understood something of mathematics: but these very memoirs affirm, that the reading of ecclesiastical books was the ruin of him. The young Alexis imagined he saw in these books a condemnation of every thing which his father had done. There were some priests at the head of the malecontents, and by the priests he suffered himself to be governed.

They persuaded him that the whole nation looked with horror upon the enterprizes of Peter; that the frequent illnesses of the czar promised but a short life; and that his son could not hope to please the nation, but by testifying his aversion for all changes of custom. These murmurs, and these counsels, did not break out into an open faction or conspiracy; but every thing seemed to tend that way, and the tempers of the people were inflamed.

Peter's marriage with Catharine in 1707, and the children which he had by her, began to sour the disposition of the young prince. Peter tried every method to reclaim him; he even placed him at the head of a regency for a year; he sent him to travel: he married him in 1711, at the end of the campaign of Pruth, to the princess of Brunswick. His marriage was attended with great misfortunes. Alexis, now twenty years old, gave himself up to the debauchery of youth, and that dissolute and dissipated manners he so much delighted in, rendered him a most brutalized him. He was cruel, dissipated, wanting even necessary spiritual comfort. He quitted a-
 November, 1715.

She left the prince Alexis one son ; and according to the natural order, this son was one day to become heir to the empire. Peter perceived with sorrow, that when he should be no more, all his labours were likely to be destroyed by those of his own blood. After the death of the princess he wrote a letter to his son, equally tender and resolute it finished with these words ; “ I will wait a little time, to see if you will correct yourself ; if not ; know that I will cut you off from the succession, as we lop off an useless member. Do not imagine that I mean only to intimidate you ; do not rely upon the title of being my only son ; for, if I spare not my own life for my country, and the good of my people, how shall I spare you ? I will rather chuse to leave my kingdom to a foreigner who deserves it, than to my own son, who make himself unworthy of it ”

This is the letter of a father, but it is still more the letter of a legislator ; it shews us besides, that the order of succession was not invariably established in Russia, as in other kingdoms, by those fundamental laws which take away from fathers the right of disinheriting their children ; and the czar thought he had an undoubted prerogative to dispose of an empire which he had founded.

At this very time the empress Catharine was brought to-bed of a prince, who died afterwards in 1712. Whether this news sunk the courage of Alexis, or whether it was imprudence or bad counsel, he wrote to his father, that he renounced the crown, and all hopes of reigning “ I take God to witness, says he, and I swear by my soul, that I will never pretend to the succession. I put my children into your hands, and I desire only a provision for life.”

The czar wrote him a second letter as follows: "You speak of the succession, as if I stood in need of your consent in the disposal thereof. I reproached you with the aversion you have shewn to all kind of business, and signified to you, that I was highly dissatisfied with your conduct in general; but to these particulars you have given me no answer. Paternal exhortations make no impression on you, wherefore I resolve to write you this once for the last time. If you despise the advice I give you while I am alive, what regard will you pay to them after my death? but though you had the inclination at present to be true to your promises, yet a corrupt priesthood will be able to turn you at pleasure, and force you to falsify them. They have no dependence but upon you. You have no sense of gratitude towards him who gave you your being. Have you ever assisted him in toils and labours since you arrived at the age of maturity? Do you not censure and condemn, nay, even affect to hold in detestation, whatever I do for the good of my people? In a word, I have reason to conclude, that if you survive me, you will overturn every thing that I have done. Take your choice, either endeavour to make yourself worthy of the throne, or embrace a monastic state. I expect your answer, either in writing, or by word of mouth, otherwise I shall treat you as a common malefactor."

This letter was very severe, and it was easy for the prince to have replied, that he would alter his conduct; instead of which, he only returned a short answer to his father, desiring permission to turn monk.

This resolution appeared altogether unnatural; and it may furnish matter of surprise, that the czar

should think of travelling, and leaving a son at home so obstinate and ill-affected; but, at the same time, his doing so, is next to a proof, that he thought he had no reason to apprehend a conspiracy from that son.

The czar, before he set out for Germany and France, went to pay his son a visit. The prince, who was at that time ill, or at least feigned himself so, received his father in his bed, where he protested, with the most solemn oaths, that he was ready to retire into a cloister. The czar gave him six months to consider of it, and then set out on his travels with the czarina.

No sooner was he arrived at Copenhagen, than he heard (what he might reasonably expect) that the czarowitz conversed only with factious and evil-minded persons, who strove to feed his discontent. Upon this the czar wrote to him, that he had only to chuse between a throne and a convent; and that, if he had any thoughts of succeeding him, he must immediately set out and join him at Copenhagen.

But the confidants of the prince remonstrating to him how dangerous it would be to trust himself in a place where he could have no friends to advise him, and where he would be exposed to the anger of an incensed father, and the machinations of a revengeful step-mother; he, under pretence of going to join his father at Copenhagen, took the road to Vienna, and threw himself under the protection of the emperor Charles VI. his brother-in-law, intending to remain at his court till the death of the czar.

This adventure of the czarowitz was nearly the same as that of Lewis XI. of France, who, when he was dauphin, quitted the court of his father

Charles VI. and took refuge with the duke of Burgundy. But the dauphin was much more culpable than Alexis, inasmuch as he married in direct opposition to his father's will, raised an army against him, and threw himself into the arms of a prince, who was Charles's declared enemy, and refused to hearken to the repeated instances of his father, to return back to his court.

The czarowitz, on the contrary, had married only in compliance with his father's orders, had never rebelled against him, nor raised an army, nor taken refuge in the dominions of an enemy, and returned to throw himself at his feet, upon the very last letter he received from him: for, as soon as Peter knew that his son had been at Vienna, and had afterwards retired to Tyrol, and from thence to Naples, which, at that time, belonged to the emperor, he dispatched Romanzoff, a captain of his guards, and the privy counsellor Tols-
toy, with a letter written with his own hand, and dated at Spa, the 21st of July, N. S. 1717. They found the prince at Naples, in the castle of St. Elmo, and delivered him his father's letter, which was as follows:

“ I now write to you for the last time, to acquaint you, that you must instantly comply with my orders, which will be communicated to you by Tols-
toy and Romanzoff. If you obey, I give you my sacred word and promise, that I will not punish you; and that if you will return home, I will love you more than ever; but, if you do not, I, as your father, and in virtue of the authority which God has given me over you, denounce against you my eternal curse; and, as your sovereign, declare to you, that I will find means to punish your disobedience, in which I trust God him-

self will assist me, and espouse the just cause of an injured parent and king.

For the rest, remember that I have never laid any restraint upon you. Was I obliged to leave you at liberty to choose your way of life? Had I not the power in my own hands to oblige you to conform to my will? I had only to command, and make myself obeyed."

The viceroy of Naples found it no difficult matter to persuade the czarowitz to return to his father. This is an incontestible proof that the emperor had no intentions to enter into any engagements with the prince that might give umbrage to his father. Alexis therefore returned with the envoys, bringing with him his mistress, Aphrofyne, who had been the companion of his elopement.

We may consider the czarowitz as an ill advised young man, who had gone to Vienna, and to Naples, instead of going to Copenhagen, agreeable to the orders of his father and sovereign. Had he been guilty of no other crimes than this, which is common enough to young and giddy persons, it was certainly very excusable. The prince determined to return to his father, on the faith of his having taken God to witness, that he not only would pardon him, but that he would love him better than ever. But it appears by the instructions given to the two envoys who went to fetch him back, and even by the czar's own letter, that his father required him to declare the persons who had been his counsellors, and also to fulfil the oath he made of renouncing the succession.

It seemed difficult to reconcile this exclusion of the czarowitz from the succession, with the other part of the oath by which the czar had bound him-

self in his letter, namely, that of loving his son better than ever. Perhaps, divided between paternal love, and the justice he owed to himself and people, as a sovereign, he might limit the renewal of his affection to his son in a convent, instead of to that son on a throne; perhaps likewise, he was in hopes to reduce him to reason, and to render him worthy of the succession at last, by making him sensible of the loss of a crown which he had forfeited by his own indiscretion. In a circumstance so uncommon, so intricate, and so afflicting, it may easily be supposed, that the minds of both father and son were under equal perturbation, and hardly consistent with themselves.

The prince arrived at Moscow on the 13th of February N. S. 1717. and the same day went to throw himself at his father's feet, who was returned to the city from his travels. They had a long conference together, and a report was immediately spread through the city, that the prince and his father were reconciled, and that all past transactions were buried in oblivion. But the next day, orders were issued for the regiments of guards to be under arms at break of day, and for all the czar's ministers, boyars, and counsellors, to repair to the great hall of the castle; as also for the prelates, together with two monks of St. Basil, professors of divinity, to assemble in the cathedral, at the tolling of the great bell. The unhappy prince was then conducted to the great castle like a prisoner, and being come in his father's presence, threw himself in tears at his feet, and presented him a writing, containing a confession of his faults, declaring himself unworthy of the succession, and imploring only that his life might be spared.

The czar, raising up his son, withdrew with him into a private room, where he put many questions to him, declaring to him at the same time, that if he concealed any one circumstance relating to his elopement, his life should answer for it. The prince was then brought back to the great hall, where the council was assembled, and the czar's declaration, which had been previously prepared, was there publicly read in his presence.

In this piece the czar reproaches his son with all those faults we have before related, namely, his little application to study, his connections with the favourers of the ancient customs and manners of the country, and his ill behaviour to his wife. "He has even violated the conjugal faith (saith the czar in his manifesto) by giving his affection to a prostitute of the most servile and low condition, during the lifetime of his lawful spouse." It is certain that Peter himself had repudiated his own wife in favour of a captive; but that captive was a person of exemplary merit, and the czar had just cause for discontent against his wife, who was at the same time his subject. The czarowitz, on the contrary, had abandoned his princess for a young woman, hardly known to any one, and who had no other merit but that of personal charms. So far there appears some errors of a young man, which a parent ought to reprimand in secret, and which he might have pardoned.

The czar, in his manifesto, next reproaches his son with his flight to Vienna, and his having put himself under the emperor's protection; he adds, that "he had calumniated his father," by telling the emperor that he was persecuted by him; and lastly, that he had made intercession with the emperor to assist him with an armed force.

Here it immediately occurs, that the emperor could not, with any propriety, have entered into a war with the czar on such an occasion ; nor could he have interposed otherwise between an incensed father and a disobedient son, than by his good offices, to promote a reconciliation. Accordingly we find, that Charles VI contented himself with giving a temporary asylum to the fugitive prince, and readily sent him back on the first requisition of the czar, in consequence of being informed of the place his son had chosen for his retreat.

Peter adds, in this terrible piece, that Alexis had persuaded the emperor, " that he went in danger of his life," if he returned back to Russia. Surely it was in some measure justifying these complaints of the prince, to condemn him to death at his return, and especially after so solemn a promise to pardon him ; but we shall see in the course of this history the cause which afterwards moved the czar to denounce this ever-memorable sentence. For the present let us turn our eyes upon an absolute prince, pleading against his son before an august assembly.

" In this manner, says he, has our son returned ; and although by his withdrawing himself and raising calumnies against us, he has deserved to be punished with death, yet out of our paternal affection we pardon his crimes : but considering his unworthiness, and the series of his irregular conduct, we cannot in conscience leave him the succession to the throne of Russia ; foreseeing that by his vicious courses, he will after our decease entirely destroy the glory of our nation and the safety of our dominions, which we have recovered from the enemy.

Now, as we should pity our states and our faithful subjects, if, by such a successor, we should throw them back into a much worse condition than ever they were before; so, by the paternal authority, and, in quality of sovereign prince, in consideration of the safety of our dominions, we do deprive our said son Alexis, for his crimes and unworthiness, of the succession after us to our throne of Russia, even though there should not remain one single person of our family after us.

And we do constitute and declare successor to the said throne after us, our second son Peter*, though yet very young, having no successor that is older.

We lay upon our said son Alexis our paternal curse, if ever at any time he pretends to, or reclaims, the said succession.

And we desire our faithful subjects, whether ecclesiastics or seculars, of all ranks and conditions, and the whole Russian nation, in conformity to this constitution and our will, to acknowledge and consider our own son Peter, appointed by us to succeed, as lawful successor, and agreeably to this our constitution, to confirm the whole by oath before the holy altar, upon the holy gospel, kissing the cross.

And all those who shall ever at any time oppose this our will, and who from this day forward shall dare to consider our son Alexis as successor, or assist him for that purpose, we declare them traitors to us and to our country. And we have ordered that these presents shall be every where published and promulgated, to the end that no person may pretend ignorance."

* This was the son of the empress Catharine, who died, April 15 1719.

It would seem that this declaration had been prepared before hand for the occasion, or that it had been drawn up with amazing dispatch; for the czarowitz did not return to Moscow till the 13th of February, and his renunciation in favour of the empress Catherine's son is dated the 14th.

The prince on his part signed the renunciation, whereby ' he acknowledges his exclusion to be just, as having merited it by his own fault and unworthiness; and I do hereby swear (adds he) in presence of God Almighty in the Holy Trinity, to submit in all things to my father's will, &c."

These instruments being signed, the czar went in procession to the cathedral, where they were read a second time, when the whole body of clergy signed their approbation with their seals at the bottom, to a copy prepared for that purpose. No prince was ever disinherited in so authentic a manner. There were many states in which an act of this kind would be of no validity; but in Russia; as in ancient Rome, every father has a power of depriving his son of his succession, and this power was still stronger in a sovereign than in a private subject, and especially such a sovereign as Peter.

But nevertheless it was to be apprehended, that those who had encouraged the prince in his opposition to his father's will, and advised him to withdraw himself from his court, might one day endeavour to set aside a renunciation which had been procured by force, and restore to the eldest son that crown which had been violently snatched from him to place on the head of a younger brother by a second marriage. In this case it was easy to foresee a civil war, and a total subversion of all the great and useful projects which Peter had so much laboured to establish; and therefore the present

matter in question was to determine between the welfare of near eighteen millions of souls (which was nearly the number that the empire of Russia contained at that time) and the interests of a single person incapable of governing. Hence it became necessary to find out those who were disaffected; and accordingly the czar a second time threatened his son with the most fatal consequences if he concealed any thing: and the prince was obliged to undergo a juridical examination by his father, and afterwards by the commissioners appointed for that purpose.

One principal article of the charge brought against him, and that which served chiefly to his condemnation, was, a letter from one Beyer, the emperor's resident at the court of Russia, dated at Petersburg, after the flight of the prince. This letter makes mention of a mutiny in the Russian army then assembled at Mecklenburg, and that several of the officers talked of clapping up Catharine and her son in the prison where the late empress whom Peter had repudiated, was then confined, and of placing the czarowitz on the throne as soon as he could be found out and brought back. These idle projects fell to the ground of themselves, and there was not the least appearance that Alexis had ever countenanced them. The whole was only a piece of news related by a foreigner: the letter itself was not directed to the prince, and he had only a copy thereof transmitted him while at Vienna.

But a charge of a more grievous nature appeared against him, namely, the heads of a letter written with his own hand, and which he had sent while at the court of Vienna, to the senators and prelates of Russia, in which were the following ve-

ry strong assertions : " The continual ill-treatment which I have suffered without having deserved it, have at length obliged me to consult my peace and safety by flight. I have narrowly escaped being confined in a convent, by those who have already served my mother in the same manner. I am now under the protection of a great prince, and I beseech you not to abandon me in this conjuncture."

The expression, *in this conjuncture*, which might be construed into a seditious meaning, appeared to have been blotted out, and then inserted again by his own hand, and afterwards blotted out a second time ; which shewed it to be the action of a young man disturbed in his mind, following the dictates of his resentment, and repenting of it at the very instant. There were only the copies of these letters found ; they were never sent to the persons they were designed for, the court of Vienna having taken care to stop them ; a convincing proof that the emperor never intended to break with the czar, or to assist the son to take arms against the father.

Several witnesses were brought to confront the prince ; and one of them, named Afanassief, deposed, that he had formerly heard him speak these words, " I shall mention something to the bishops, who will mention it again to the lower clergy, and they to the parish priests, and the crown will be placed on my head whether I shall or not."

His own mistress Aprosyne was likewise brought to give evidence against him. The charge however was not well supported in its parts ; there did not appear to have been any regular plan formed any chain of intrigues, or any thing like a conspiracy or combination, or the least shadow of

preparation for a change in the government. The whole affair was that of a son, of a depraved and factious disposition, who thought himself injured by his father, who fled from him, and who wished for his death; but this son was heir to the greatest monarchy in our hemisphere, and in his situation and place he could not be guilty of trivial faults.

After the accusation of his mistress, another witness was brought against him, in relation to the former czarina his mother, and the princess Mary his sister. He was charged with having consulted the former in regard to his flight, and of having mentioned it to the princess Mary. The bishop of Rostow, who was the confident of all three, having been seized, deposed, that the two princesses, who were shut up in a convent, had expressed their wishes for a revolution in affairs that might restore them their liberty, and even encouraged the prince by their advice, to withdraw himself out of the kingdom. The more natural their resentment was, the more it was to be apprehended. We shall see at the end of this chapter, what kind of a person this bishop of Rostow was, and what had been his conduct.

The czarowitz at first denied several facts of this nature which were alleged against him, and by this very behaviour subjected himself to the punishment of death with which his father had threatened him, in case he did not make an open and sincere confession.

At last, however, he acknowledged several disrespectful expressions against his father, which were laid to his charge, but excused himself by saying, he had been hurried away by passion and drink.

The czar himself drew up several new interrogations. The fourth ran as follows :

“ When you found by Beyer’s letter that there was a mutiny among the troops in Mecklenburg, you seemed pleased with it ; you must certainly have had some reason for it ? and I imagine you would have joined the rebels even during my life-time ? ”

This was interrogating the prince on the subject of his private thoughts, which, though they might be revealed to a father, who may, by his advice, correct them, yet might they also with justice, be concealed from a judge, who decides only upon acknowledged facts. The private sentiments of a man’s a man’s heart have nothing to do in a criminal process, and the prince was at liberty either to deny them or disguise them, in such a manner as he should think best for his own safety, as being under no obligation to lay open his heart ; and yet we find him returning the following answer : “ If the rebels had called upon me during your life-time, I do verily believe I should have joined them, supposing I had found them sufficiently strong.”

It is hardly conceivable that he could have made this reply of himself, and it would be full as extraordinary, at least according to the custom in our part of the world, to condemn a person for confessing what he might have thought in a certain manner in a conjecture that never happened.

To this strange confession of his private thoughts which had till then been concealed in the bottom of his heart, they added proofs which would hardly be admitted as such in a court of justice in any other country.

The prince sinking under his misfortunes, and almost deprived of his senses, studied within himself, with all the ingenuity of fear, for whatever could most effectually serve for his destruction; and at length acknowledged, that in private confession to the arch-priest James, he had wished his father dead; and that his confessor made answer, "God will pardon you this wish; we all wish the same."

The canons of our church do not admit of proofs resulting from private confession, inasmuch as they are held inviolable secrets between God and the penitent: and both the Greek and Latin churches are agreed, that this intimate and secret correspondence between a sinner and the Deity are beyond the cognizance of a temporal court of justice. But here the welfare of a kingdom and a king were concerned. The arch-priest, being put to the torture, confirmed all that the prince had revealed; and this trial furnished the unprecedented instance of a confessor accused by his penitent, and that penitent by his own mistress. To this may be added another singular circumstance, namely, that the archbishop of Rezan having been involved in several accusations on account of having spoken too favourably of the young czarowitz in one of his sermons, at the time that his father's resentment first broke out against him; that weak prince declared in his answer to one of the interrogations, that he had depended on the assistance of that prelate, at the same time that he was at the head of the ecclesiastical court, which the czar had consulted in relation to this criminal process against his son, as we shall see in the course of this chapter.

There is another remark to be made in this extraordinary trial, which we find so very lamely related in the absurd history of Peter the Great, by the pretended boyar Nesterfuranoy, and that is the following.

Among other answers which the czarowitz Alexis made to the first question put to him by his father, he acknowledges, that while he was at Vienna, finding he could not be admitted to see the emperor, he applied himself to count Schonborn the high chamberlain, who told him, "the emperor would not abandon him, and that as soon as occasion should offer by the death of his father, that he would assist him to recover the throne by force of arms." Upon which, adds the prince, I made him the following answer, "This is what I by no means desire: if the emperor will only grant me his protection for the present I ask no more." This deposition is plain, natural, and carries with it strong marks of the truth; for it would have been the height of madness to have asked the emperor for an armed force to dethrone his father, and no one would have ventured to have made such an absurd proposal, either to the emperor, prince Eugene, or to the council. This deposition bears date in the month of February; and four months after, on the first of July, and towards the latter end of the proceedings against the czarowitz, that prince is made to say, in the last answers he delivered in writing;

"Being unwilling to imitate my father in any thing, I endeavoured to secure myself the succession by any means which *seemed to me to be just*. I attempted to get it by a foreign assistance; and had I succeeded, and that the emperor had fulfilled *what he had promised me*, to replace me on

the throne of Russia even by force of arms, I would have left nothing undone to have got possession of it. For instance, if the emperor had demanded of me in return for his services, a body of my own troops to fight for him against any power whatever, that might be in arms against him, or a large sum of money to defray the charges of a war, I should have readily granted every thing that he asked, and should have gratified his ministers and generals with magnificent presents. I would at my own expence have maintained the auxiliary troops he might have furnished to put me in possession of the crown; and, in a word, I should have thought nothing too much to have accomplished my ends."

This answer seems greatly strained, and appears as if the unhappy deponent was exerting his utmost efforts to appear more culpable than he really was; nay, he seems to have spoken absolutely contrary to truth in a capital point. He says the emperor had promised to procure him the crown by force of arms. This is absolutely false: Schonborn had given him hopes, that, after the death of his father, the emperor might assist him to recover his birth-right; but the emperor himself never made him any promise. And lastly, the matter in question was not if he should take arms against his father, but if he should succeed him after his death?

By this last deposition he declares what he believes he should have done, had he been obliged to dispute his birth-right, which he had not formally renounced till after his journey to Vienna and Naples. Here then we have a second deposition, not of any thing he had already done, and the actual commission of which would have subjected

him to the rigorous enquiry of the law, but of what he imagines he should have done had occasion offered, and which consequently is no subject of a juridical enquiry. Thus does he twice together accuse himself of private thoughts that he might have entertained in a future time. The known world does not produce an instance of a man tried and condemned for vague and inconsequential notions that came into his head, and which he never communicated to any one: nor is there a court of justice in Europe that will hear a man accuse himself of criminal thoughts; nay, we believe that they are not punished by God himself, unless accompanied by a fixed resolution to put them in practice.

To these natural reflections it may be answered, that the czarowitz had given his father a just right to punish him, by having withheld the names of several of the accomplices of his flight. His pardon was promised him only on condition of making a full and open confession, which he did not till it was too late. Lastly, after so public an affair, it was not in human nature that Alexis should ever forgive a brother in favour of whom he had been disinherited; therefore it was thought better to punish one guilty person, than to expose a whole nation to danger, and herein the rigour of justice and reasons of state acted in concert.

We must not judge of the manners and laws of one nation by those of others. The czar was possessed of the fatal, but incontestible right of punishing his son with death, for the single crime of having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom against his consent; and he thus expresses himself in his declaration addressed to the prelates and others, who composed the high courts of justice.

"Tho'. according to all laws, civil and divine, and especially those of this empire, which grant an absolute jurisdiction to fathers over their children (even fathers in a private life) we have a full and unlimited power to judge our son for his crimes according to our pleasure, without asking the advice of any person whatsoever; yet, as men are more liable to prejudice and partiality in their own affairs, than in those of others, and as the most eminent and expert physicians rely not on their own judgment concerning themselves, but call in the advice and assistance of others; so we, under the fear of God, and an awful dread of offending him, in like manner make known our disease, and apply to you for a cure; being apprehensive of eternal death, if, ignorant perhaps of the nature of our distemper, we should attempt to cure ourselves; and the rather, as in a solemn appeal to Almighty God, I have signed, sworn, and confirmed a promise of pardon to my son, in case he should declare to me the truth.

And though he has violated this promise, by concealing the most important circumstances of his rebellious design against us; yet, that we may not in any thing swerve from our obligations, we pray you to consider this affair with seriousness and attention, and report what punishment he deserves without favour or partiality either to him or me; for should you apprehend that he deserves but a slight punishment, it will not be disagreeable to me. I swear to you by the great God and his judgments, that you have nothing to fear on this head

Neither let the reflection of your being to pass sentence on the son of your prince have any influence on you, but administer justice without respect

of persons, and destroy not your own souls and mine also, by doing any thing to injure our country, or upbraid our consciences in the great and terrible day of judgment."

The czar afterwards addressed himself to the clergy, by another declaration to the same purpose, so that every thing was transacted in the most authentic manner, and Peter's behaviour through the whole of this affair was so undisguised, as shewed him to be fully satisfied of the justice of his cause.

On the first of July the clergy delivered their opinion in writing. In fact, it was their opinion only, and not a judgment, which the czar required of them. The beginning is deserving the attention of all Europe.

"This affair (say the prelates and the rest of the clergy) does in no wise fall within the verge of the ecclesiastical court, nor is the absolute power invested in the sovereign of the Russian empire subject to the cognisance of his people; but he has an unlimited power of acting herein as to him shall seem best, without any inferior having a right to intermiddle therein."

After their preamble, they proceed to cite several texts of scripture, particularly Leviticus, wherein it is said, *curst be he that curseth his father or mother*; and the gospel of St. Matthew, which repeats this severe denunciation. And they concluded, after several other quotations, with these remarkable words.

"If his majesty is inclinable to punish the offender according to his deeds and the measure of his crimes, he has before him the examples of the Old Testament; if, on the other hand, he is inclined to shew mercy, he has a pattern in our Lord Jesus

Christ, who receives the prodigal son, when returning with a contrite heart, who set free the woman taken in adultery, whom the law sentenced to be stoned to death, and who prefers mercy to burnt offerings. He has likewise the example of David, who spared his son Absalom, who had rebelled against and persecuted him, saying to his captains when going forth to fight, *spare my son Absalom*. The father was here inclinable to mercy, but divine justice suffered not the offender to go unpunished."

"The heart of the czar is in the hands of God; let him take that side to which it shall please the Almighty to direct him."

This opinion was signed by eight archbishops and bishops, four arch priests, and two professors of divinity, and, as we have already observed, the metropolitan archbishop of Rezan, the same with whom the prince had held a correspondence, was the first who signed.

As soon as the clergy had signed this opinion, they presented it to the czar. It is easy to perceive that this body was desirous of inclining his mind to clemency; and nothing can be more beautiful than the contrast between the mercy of Jesus Christ, and the rigour of the Jewish law, placed before the eyes of a father, who was the persecutor of his own son.

The same day the czarowitz was again examined for the last time, and signed his final confession in writing, wherein he acknowledges himself "to have frequented the company of priests and monks, to have drank with them, and to have imbibed from their conversatiops the first impressions of dislike to the duties of his station, and even to the person of his father."

If he made this confession of his own accord, it shews that he must have been ignorant of the mild advice the body of clergy whom he thus accuses, had lately given his father; and is a still stronger proof how great a change the czar had wrought in the manners of the clergy of his time, who, from a state of the most deplorable ignorance, were in so short a time become capable of drawing up a writing, which for its wisdom and eloquence might have been owned without a blush by the most illustrious fathers of the church.

It is in this last confession that the czarowitz made that declaration on which we have already commented, viz that he endeavoured to secure to himself the succession *by any means whatever, except such as were just.*

One would imagine, by this last confession, that the prince was apprehensive he had not rendered himself sufficiently criminal in the eyes of his judges, by his former self-accusations, and that, by giving himself the character of a dissembler and a bad man, and supposing how he might have acted had he been the master, he was carefully studying how to justify the fatal sentence which was about to be pronounced against him, and which was done on the 5th of July. This sentence will be found, at length, at the end of this volume; therefore we shall only observe in this place, that it begins like the opinion of the clergy, by declaring, that "it belongs not to subjects to take cognizance of such an affair, which depends solely on the absolute will of the sovereign, whose authority is derived from God alone;" and then, after having set forth the several articles of the charge brought against the prince, the judges express themselves thus: "What shall we think of a rebellious design, almost unpar-

alleled in history, joined to that of a horrid parricide against him, who was his father in a double capacity?"

Probably these words have been wrong translated, from the trial printed by order of the czar; for certainly there have been instances in history of much greater rebellions; and no part of the proceedings against the czarowitz discover any design in him of killing his father. Perhaps, by the word *parricide*, is understood the deposition made by the prince, that one day he declared at confession, that he had wished for the death of his father. But, how can a private declaration of a secret thought, under the seal of confession, be a double parricide?

Be this as it may, the czarowitz was unanimously condemned to die, but no mention was made in the sentence of the manner in which he was to suffer. Of one hundred and forty judges, there was not one who thought of a lesser punishment than death. An author of an English tract, which made a great noise at that time, observes, that if such a cause had been brought before an English parliament, there would not have been one judge out of one hundred and forty-four, that would have inflicted even a penalty.

There cannot be a stronger proof of the differences of times and places. The consul Manlius would have been condemned by the laws of England to lose his own life, for having put his son to death; whereas he was admired and extolled for that action by the rigid Romans: but the same laws would not punish a prince of Wales for leaving the kingdom, who, as a peer of the realm, has a right to come and go when he pleases. A criminal design, not perpetrated, is not punishable by

the laws in England or France, but it is in Russia. A continued formal and repeated disobedience of commands would, amongst us, be considered only an error in conduct, which ought to be suppressed; but, in Russia, it was judged a capital crime in the heir of a great empire, whose ruin might have been the consequence of that disobedience. Lastly, the czarowitz was culpable towards the whole nation, by his design of throwing it back into that state of darkness and ignorance from which his father had so lately delivered it.

Such was the acknowledged power of the czar, that he might put his son to death for disobedience to him, without consulting any one; nevertheless, he submitted the affair to the judgment of the representatives of the nation, so that it was in fact the nation itself who passed sentence on the prince; and Peter was so well satisfied with the equity of his own conduct, that he voluntarily submitted it to the judgment of every other nation, by causing the whole proceedings to be printed and translated into several languages.

The law of history would not permit us to disguise or palliate ought in the relation of this tragic event. All Europe was divided in its sentiments, whether most to pity a young prince, prosecuted by his own father, and condemned to lose his life by those who were one day to have been his subjects; or the father, who thought himself under a necessity to sacrifice his own son to the welfare of his nation.

It was inserted in several books, published on this subject, that the czar sent to Spain for a copy of the proceedings against Don Carlos, who had been condemned to death by his father Philip the Second. But this is false, inasmuch as Don Carlos

was never brought to his trial : the conduct of Peter I. was totally different from that of Philip. The Spanish monarch never made known to the world the reasons for which he had confined his son, nor in what manner that prince died. He wrote letters on this occasion to the pope and the empress, which were absolutely contradictory to each other. William prince of Orange accused Philip publicly of having sacrificed his son and his wife to his jealousy, and to have behaved rather like a jealous and cruel husband, and an unnatural and murderous father, than a severe and upright judge. Philip suffered this accusation against him to pass unanswered. Peter on the contrary, did nothing but in the eye of the world ; he openly declared, that he preferred his people to his own son, submitted his cause to the judgment of the principal persons of his kingdom and made the whole world the judge of their proceedings and his own.

There was another extraordinary circumstance attending this unhappy affair, which was, that the empress Catharine, who was hated by the czarowitz, and whom he had publicly threatened with the worst of treatment, whenever he should mount the throne, was not in any way accessory to his misfortunes ; and was neither accused nor even suspected by any foreign minister residing at the court of Russia, of having taken the least step against a son-in-law, from whom she had so much to fear. It is true, indeed, that no one pretends to say she interceded with the czar for his pardon : but all the accounts of these times, and especially those of the count de Basse-vitz, agree, that she was greatly affected with his misfortunes.

I have now before me the memoirs of a public minister, in which I find the following words : " I

was present when the czar told the duke of Holstein, that the czarina Catharine had begged of him to prevent the sentence passed upon the czarowitz, being publicly read to that prince. Content yourself, said she, with obliging him to turn monk; for this public and formal condemnation of your son will reflect an odium on your grandson."

The czar, however, would not hearken to the intercession of his spouse; but he thought there was a necessity to have the sentence publicly read to the prince himself, in order that he might have no pretence left to dispute this solemn act, in which he himself acquiesced, and that being dead in law he could never after claim a right to the crown.

Nevertheless, if, after the death of Peter, a formidable party had arose in favour of Alexis, would his being dead in law have prevented him from ascending the throne?

The prince then had his sentence read to him; and the memoirs I have just mentioned observe, that he fell into a fit on hearing these words: "the laws divine and ecclesiastical civil and military, condemn to death, without mercy, those whose attempts against their father and their sovereign have been fully proved." These fits, it is said, turned to an apoplexy, and it was with great difficulty he was recovered at that time. Afterwards, when he came a little to himself, and in the dreadful interval between life and death, he sent for his father to come to him; the czar accordingly went, and both father and son burst into a flood of tears. The unhappy prince asked his offended parent's forgiveness, which he gave him publicly: then being in the agonies of death, extreme unction was administered to him in the most

solemn manner, and soon after he expired in the presence of the whole court, the day after the fatal sentence had been pronounced upon him. His body was immediately carried to the cathedral, where it lay in state exposed to public view for four days; after which it was interred in the church of the citadel, by the side of his late prince; the czar and czarina assisting at the funeral.

And here I think myself indispensably obliged to imitate, in some measure, the conduct of the czar, that is to say, to submit to the judgment of the public, the several facts which I have related with the most scrupulous exactness, and not only the facts themselves, but likewise the various reports which were propagated in relation to them, by authors of the first credit. Lamberti, the most impartial of any writer on this subject, and at the same time the most exact, and who has confined himself to the simple narrative of the original and authentic pieces relating to the affairs of Europe, seems in this matter to have departed from that impartiality and discernment for which he is so remarkable: for he thus expresses himself.

“ The czarina, ever anxious for the fortune of her own son, did not suffer the czar to rest, till she had obliged him to commence the proceedings against the czarowitz, and to prosecute that unhappy prince to death; and what is still more extraordinary, the czar, after having given him the knout (which is a kind of torture) with his own hand, was himself his executioner, by cutting off his head, which was afterwards so artfully joined to the body, that the separation could not be perceived, when it was exposed to public view. Some little time afterwards, the czarina's son died, to the inexpressible regret of her and the czar. This lat-

ter, who had beheaded his own son, coming now to reflect, that he had no successor, grew extremely ill-tempered. Much about that time also, he was informed, that his spouse, the czarina, was engaged in a secret and criminal correspondence with prince Menzikoff. This, joined to the reflection, that she had been the cause of his putting to death with his own hand his eldest son, made him conceive a design to strip her of the imperial honours, and shut her up in a convent, in the same manner as he had done his first wife, who is still living there. It was a custom with the czar to keep a kind of diary of his private thoughts in his pocket book, and he had accordingly entered therein a memorandum of this his intention. The czarina having found means to gain over to her interest all the pages of the czar's bed-chamber, one of them finding his pocket book, which he had carelessly left on the table, brought it to Catharine, who, upon reading this memorandum, immediately sent for prince Menzikoff, and communicated it to him, and, in a day or two afterwards, the czar was seized with a violent distemper, of which he died. This distemper was attributed to poison, on account of its being so sudden and violent, that it could not be supposed to proceed from a natural cause, and that the horrible act of poisoning was but too frequently used in Russia."

These accusations, thus handed down by Lamberti, were soon spread throughout Europe: and, as there still exist a great number of pieces, both in print and manuscript, which may give a sanction to the belief of this fact to the latest posterity, I think it is my duty to mention, in this place, what is come to my knowlege from unexceptionable authority.

In the first place, then, I take it upon me to declare, that the person who furnished Lamberti with this strange anecdote, was in fact a native of Russia, but of a foreign extraction, and who himself did not reside in that country at the time this event happened, having left it several years before. I was formerly acquainted with him; he had been in company with Lamberti, at the little town of Nyon, whither that writer had retired, and where I myself have often been. This very man declared to me, that he had never told this story to Lamberti, but in the light of a report, which had been handed about at that time.

This example may suffice to shew, how easy it was in former times, before the art of printing was found out, for one man to destroy the reputation of another, in the minds of whole nations, by reason that manuscript histories were in a few hands only, and not exposed to general examination and censure, or to the observations of cotemporaries, as they now are. A single line in Tacitus or Sallust, nay, even in the authors of the most fabulous legends, was enough to render a great prince odious to the half of mankind, and to perpetuate his name with infamy to successive generations.

How was it possible, that the czar could have beheaded his son with his own hand, when extreme unction was administered to the latter in the presence of the whole court? Was he dead when the sacred oil was poured upon his head? When or how could this dislevered head have been re-joined to its trunk? It is notorious, that the prince was not left alone a single moment from the first reading of his sentence to him, to the instant of his death.

Besides, this story of the czar having had recourse to the sword, acquits him at least of having made use of poison. I will allow that it is somewhat uncommon, that a young man in the vigour of his days should die of a sudden fright, occasioned by hearing the sentence of his own death read to him, and especially when it was a sentence that he expected; but after all, physicians will tell us that this is not a thing impossible.

If the czar dispatched his son by poison, as so many authors will persuade us, he by that means deprived himself of every advantage he might expect from this fatal process, in convincing all Europe that he had a right to punish every delinquent. He rendered all the reasons for pronouncing the condemnation of the czarowitz suspected; and, in fact, accused himself. If he was desirous of the death of his son, he was in possession of full power to have caused the sentence to be put in execution: would a man of any prudence then, would a sovereign, on whom the eyes of all his neighbours were fixed, have taken the base and dastardly method of poisoning the person over whose devoted head he himself already held the sword of justice, Lastly, would he have suffered his memory to have been transmitted to posterity as an assassin and a poisoner, when he could so easily have assumed the character of an upright, though severe judge?

It appears then, from all that has been delivered on this subject in the preceeding pages, that Peter was more the king than the parent; and that he sacrificed his own son to the sentiments of the father and law-giver of his country, and to the interest of his people, who, without this wholesome severity, were on the verge of relapsing again into

that state from which he had taken them. It is evident that he did not sacrifice this son to the ambition of a step-mother, or to the son he had by her, since he had often threatened the czarowitz to disinherit him, before Catherine brought him that other son, whose infirm infancy gave signs of a speedy death, which actually happened in a short time afterwards. Had Peter taken this important step merely to please his wife, he must have been a fool, a madman, or a coward; neither of which, most certainly, could be laid to his charge. But he foresaw what would be the fate of his establishments, and of his new-born nation, if he had such a successor as would not adopt his views. The event has verified this foresight: the Russian empire is become famous and respectable throughout Europe, from which it was before entirely separated; whereas, had the czarowitz succeeded to the throne every thing would have been destroyed. In fine, when this catastrophe comes to be seriously considered, the compassionate heart shudders, and the rigid applauds.

This great and terrible event is still fresh in the memories of mankind; and it is frequently spoken of as a matter of so much surprise, that it is absolutely necessary to examine what cotemporary writers have said of it. One of these hireling scribblers, who has taken on him the title of historian, speaks thus of it in a work which he has dedicated to count Bruhl, prime minister to his Polish majesty, whose name indeed may seem to give some weight to what he advances. "Russia was convinced that the czarowitz owed his death to poison, which had been given him by his mother-in-law." But this accusation is overturned by the declaration which the czar made to the duke of Holstein, that the empress

Catharine had advised him to confine his son in a monastery.

With regard to the poison which the empress is said to have given afterwards to her husband, that story is sufficiently destroyed by the simple relation of the affair of the page and pocket-book. What man would think of making such a memorandum as this, "I must remember to confine my wife in a convent?" Is this a circumstance of so trivial a nature, that it must be set down lest it should be forgotten? If Catharine had poisoned her son-in-law and her husband, she would have committed crimes; whereas so far from being suspected of cruelty, she had a remarkable character for lenity and sweetness of temper.

It may now be proper to shew what was the first cause of the behaviour of the czarowitz, of his flight, and of his death and that of his accomplices, who fell by the hand of the executioner. It was owing then to mistaken notions in religion, and to a superstitious fondness for priests and monks. That this was the real source from whence all his misfortunes were derived, is sufficiently apparent from his confession, which we have already set before the reader, and in particular, by that expression of the czar in his letter to his unhappy son, "A corrupt priesthood will be able to turn you at pleasure."

The following is almost word for word the manner in which a certain ambassador to the court of Russia explains these words. Several ecclesiastics, says he, fond of the ancient barbarous customs, and regretting the authority they had lost by the nation having become more civilized, wished earnestly to see prince Alexis on the throne, from whose known disposition they expected a return of

those days of ignorance and superstition which were so dear to them. In the number of these was Dozitheus, bishop of Rostow. This prelate feigned a revelation from St Demetrius, and that the saint had appeared to him, and had assured him as from God himself, that the czar would not live above three months; that the empress Eudocia, who was then confined in the convent of Susdal (and had taken the veil under the name of sister Helena) and the princess Mary, the czar's sister, should ascend the throne, and reign jointly with prince Alexis. Eudocia and the princess Mary were weak enough to credit this imposture, and were even so persuaded of the truth of the prediction, that the former quitted her habit and convent, and throwing aside the name of sister Helena, reassumed the imperial title and the ancient dress of the czarini's, and caused the name of her rival Catherine to be struck out of the form of prayer. And when the lady abbess of the convent opposed these proceedings, Eudocia answered her haughtily, "that as Peter had punished the Strelizes who had insulted his mother, in like manner would prince Alexis punish those who had offered an indignity to his." She caused the abbess to be confined to her apartment. An officer named Stephen Glebo was introduced into the convent: this man Eudocia made use of as the instrument of her designs, having previously won him over to her interest by heaping favours on him. Glebo caused Dozitheus's prediction to be spread over the little town of Susdal and the neighbourhood thereof. But the three months being near expired, Eudocia reproached the bishop with the czar's being still alive. "My father's sins," answered Dozitheus, "have been the cause of this; he is

still in purgatory, and has acquainted me there-with.' Upon this Eudocia caused a thousand masses for the dead to be said, Dozitheus assuring her that this would not fail of having the desired effect: but in about a month afterwards he came to her and told that his father's head was already out of purgatory. In a month afterwards he pretended he was freed as far as his waist, so that then he only stuck in purgatory by his feet; but as soon as they should be set free, which was the most difficult part of the business, the czar would infallibly die.

The princess Mary, persuaded by Dozitheus, gave herself up to him, on condition that his father should be immediately released from purgatory, and the prediction accomplished; and Glebo continued his usual correspondence with the old czarina.

It was chiefly on the faith of these predictions that the czarowitz quitted the kingdom, and retired into a foreign country, to wait for the death of his father. However, the whole scheme was now discovered; Dozitheus and Glebo were seized: the letters of the princess Mary to Dozitheus, and those of sister Helena to Glebo were read in the open senate. In consequence of which the princess Mary was shut up in the fortress of Schuffelburg, and the old czarina removed to another convent, where she was kept a close prisoner. Dozitheus and Glebo, together with the other accomplices of these idle and superstitious intrigues, were put to the torture, as were likewise the confidants of the czarowitz's flight. His confessor, his preceptor, and the steward of the household, all died by the hands of the executioner.

Such then was the dear and fatal price at which Peter the Great purchased the happiness of his people, and such were the numberless obstacles he had to surmount in the midst of a long and dangerous war without doors, and an unnatural rebellion at home. He saw one half of his family plotting against him, the majority of the priesthood obstinately bent to frustrate his designs, and almost for a long time opposing its own felicity, of which as yet it was not become sensible. He had prejudices to overcome, and discontents to soothe. In a word, there wanted a new generation formed by his care, who would at length entertain the proper ideas of happiness and glory, which their fathers were not able to comprehend or support.

C H A P. XI.

Works and Establishments in 1718, and the following Years.

THROUGHOUT the whole of the foregoing dreadful catastrophe, it appeared clearly, that Peter had acted only as the father of his country, and that he considered his people as his family. The punishments he had been obliged to inflict on such of them who had endeavoured to obstruct or impede the happiness of the rest, were necessary, though melancholy sacrifices, made to the general good.

This year *, which was the epoch of the disinheriting and death of his eldest son, was also that of the greatest advantage he procured to his sub-

* 1718.

jects, by establishing a general police hitherto unknown, by the introduction or improvement of manufactures and works of every kind, by opening new branches of trade, which now began to flourish, and by the construction of canals, which joined rivers, seas and people, that nature had separated from each other. We have here none of these striking events which charm common readers; none of these court-intrigues which are the food of scandal and malice, nor of those great revolutions which amaze the generality of mankind; but we behold the real springs of public happiness, which the philosophic eye delights to contemplate.

He now appointed a lieutenant-general of police over the whole empire, who was to hold his court at Petersburg, and from thence preserve order from one end of the kingdom to the other. Extravagance in dress, and the still more dangerous extravagance of gaming, were prohibited under severe penalties; schools for teaching arithmetic, which had been first set on foot in 1716, were now established in many towns in Russia. The hospitals which had been begun were now finished, endowed, and filled with proper objects.

To these we may add the several useful establishments which had been projected some time before, and which were completed a few years afterwards. The great towns were now cleared of these innumerable swarm of beggars, who will not follow any other occupation but that of importuning those who are more industrious than themselves, and who lead a wretched and shameful life at the expence of others: an abuse too much overlooked in other nations.

The rich were obliged to build regular and handsome houses in Petersburg, agreeable to their

circumstances, and, by a master-stroke of police, the several materials were brought carriage-free to the city, by the barks and waggons which returned empty from the neighbouring provinces.

Weights and measures were likewise fixed upon an uniform plan, in the same manner as the laws. This uniformity, so much, but in vain desired, in states that have for many ages been civilized, was established in Russia without the least difficulty or murmuring; and yet we fancy that this salutary regulation is impracticable amongst us.

The prices of the necessaries of life were also fixed. The city of Petersburg was well lighted with lamps during the night; a convenience which was first introduced in Paris by Lewis XIV. and to which Rome is still a stranger. Pumps were erected for supplying water in cases of fire, the streets were well-paved, and rails put up for the security of foot-passengers; in a word, every thing was provided that could minister safety, decency, and good order, and to the quicker dispatch and convenience of the inland trade of the country. Several privileges were granted to foreigners, and proper laws enacted to prevent the abuse of those privileges. In consequence of these useful and salutary regulations, Petersburg and Moscow put on a new face.

The iron and steel manufactories received additional improvements, especially those which the czar had founded at about ten miles distance from Petersburg, of which he himself was the first superintendent, and wherein no less than a thousand men were employed immediately under his eye. He went in person to give directions to those who farmed the corn-mills, powder-mills, and mills for sawing timber, and to the managers of the manu-

factories for cordage and sail cloth, to the brick-makers, slaters, and cloth-weavers. Numbers of workmen in every branch came from France to settle under him; these were the fruits he reaped from his travels.

He established a board of trade, which was composed of one half natives, and the other half foreigners, in order that justice might be equally distributed to all artists and workmen. A Frenchman settled a manufactory for making fine looking-glass at Petersburg, with the assistance of prince Menzikoff. Another set up a loom for working fine tapestry, after the manner of the Gobelins; and this manufactory still meets with great encouragement. A third succeeded in the making of gold and silver thread, and the czar ordered that no more than four thousand marks of gold and silver should be expended in these works in the space of a year; by this means to prevent the too great consumption of bullion in the kingdom.

He gave 30,000 rubles, that is, about 150,000 French livres, together with all the materials and instruments necessary for making the several kinds of woollen stuffs. By this useful bounty he was enabled to clothe all his troops with the cloth made in his own country; whereas, before that time, it was purchased from Berlin and other foreign kingdoms.

They made as fine linen cloth in Moscow as in Holland; and at his death there was in that capital and at Jaronflaw no less than fourteen linen and hempen manufactures.

It could certainly never be imagined, at the time that silk sold in Europe for its weight in gold, that one day there would arise on the banks of the lake Ladoga, in the midst of a frozen region, and a

among unfrequented marshes, a magnificent and opulent city, where the silks of Persia should be manufactured in as great perfection as at Ispahan. Peter, however, undertook this great phenomenon in commerce, and succeeded in the attempt. The working of iron mines was carried to their highest degree of perfection; several other mines of gold and silver were discovered, and the council of mines was appointed to examine and determine, whether the working of these would bring in a profit adequate to the expence.

But, to make so many different arts and manufactories flourish, and to establish so many various undertakings, it was not only alone sufficient to grant patents, or to appoint inspectors; it was necessary that our great founder should behold all these pass under his own eye in their beginnings, and work at them with his own hands, in the same manner as we have already seen him working at the construction, the rigging, and the sailing of a ship. When canals were to be dug in marshy and almost impassable grounds, he was frequently seen at the head of the workmen, digging the earth, and carrying it away himself.

In this same year, 1718, he formed the plan of the canal and sluices of Ladoga: this was intended to make a communication between the Neva and another navigable river, in order for the more easy conveyance of merchandize to Petersburg, without taking the great circuit of the lake Ladoga which, on account of the storms that prevailed on the coast, was frequently impassable for barks or small vessels. Peter levelled the ground himself, and they still preserve the tools he used in digging up and carrying off the earth. The whole court followed the example of their sovereign, and

persisted in a work, which at the same time, they looked upon as impracticable; and it was finished after his death; for not one of his projects, which had been found possible to be effected, was abandoned.

The great canal of Cronstadt, which is easily drained of its waters, and wherein they careen and clean the men of war, was also begun at the same time that he was engaged in the proceedings against his son.

In this year also he built the new city of Ladoga. A short time afterwards he made the canal which joins the Caspian sea to the gulph of Finland and to the ocean. The boats, after sailing up the Wolga, came first to the communication of two rivers, which he joined for that purpose; and from thence by another canal, they enter into the lake of Ilmen, and then fall into the canal of Ladoga, from whence goods and merchandizes may be conveyed by sea to all parts of the world.

In the midst of these labours, which all passed under his inspection, he carried his views from Kamtschatka to the most eastern limits of his empire, and caused two forts to be built on these regions, which were so long unknown to the rest of the world. In the mean time, a body of engineers, who were draughted from the marine academy established in 1715. were sent to make the tour of the empire, in order to form exact charts thereof, and lay before mankind, the immense extent of country which he had civilized and enriched.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Trade of R U S S I A.

THE Russian trade without doors was in a manner annihilated before the reign of Peter. He restored it anew, after his accession to the throne. It is notorious that the current of trade has undergone several changes in the world. The south part of Russia was, before the time of Tamerlane, the staple of Greece, and even of the Indies; and the Genoese were the principal factors. The Tanais and the Boristhenes were loaded with the productions of Asia; but when Tamerlane, towards the end of the fourteenth century, had conquered the Taurican Chersonesus, afterwards called Crimea or Crim Tartary, and when the Turks became masters of Asoph, this great branch of trade was totally destroyed. Peter formed the design of reviving it, by getting possession of Asoph; but the unfortunate campaign of Purth wrested this city out of his hands, and with it all his views on the Black sea; nevertheless, he had it still in his power to open as extensive a road to commerce through the Caspian sea. The English who, in the end of the 15th, and the beginning of the 16th century, had opened a trade to Archangel, had endeavoured to do the same likewise by the Caspian sea; but failed in all their attempts for this purpose.

It has been already observed, that the father of Peter the Great caused a ship to be built in Holland, to trade from Astracan to the coast of Persia. This vessel was burnt by the rebel Stenkorazin, which put an immediate stop to any views of trade.

ing on a fair footing with the Persians. The Armenians, who are the factors of that part of Asia, were received by Peter the Great into Astracan; every thing was obliged to pass through their hands, and they reaped all the advantage of that trade; as is the case with the Indian traders and the Banians, and with the Turks, as well as several nations in Christendom, and the Jews; for those, who have only one way of living, are generally very expert in that art on which they depend for a support; and others pay a voluntary tribute to that knowledge in which they know themselves deficient.

Peter had already found a remedy for this inconvenience, in the treaty which he made with the Sophi of Persia, by which all the silk, which was not used for the manufactories in that kingdom, were to be delivered to the Armenians of Astracan, and by them to be transported into Russia.

The troubles which arose in Persia soon overturned this arrangement; and, in the course of this history, we shall see how the Sha, or emperor of Persia, Hussein, when persecuted by the rebels, implored the assistance of Peter; and how that monarch after having supported a difficult war against the Turks and the Swedes, entered Persia, and subjected three of its provinces. But to return to the article of trade.

Of the Trade of CHINA.

The undertaking of establishing a trade with China seemed to promise the greatest advantages. Two vast empires bordering on each other, and each reciprocally possessing what the other stood in need of, seemed to be both under the happy necessity of opening an useful correspondence, especially after the treaty of peace, so solemnly ratified between those two empires in the year 1689. according to our way of reckoning.

The first foundation of this trade had been laid in the year 1689. There was at that time two companies of Siberian and Bukarian families settled in Siberia. Their caravans travelled through the Calmuck plains; after that they crossed the deserts to Chinese Tartary, and made a considerable profit by their trade; but the troubles which happened in the country of the Calmucks, and the disputes between the Russians and Chinese, in regard to the frontiers, put a stop to this commerce.

After the peace 1689, it was natural for the two nations to fix on some neutral place, whither all the goods should be carried. The Siberians, like all other nations, stood more in need of the Chinese, than these latter did of them; accordingly permission was asked of the emperor of China, to send caravans to Peking, which was readily granted. This happened in the beginning of the present century.

It is worthy of observation, that the emperor Camhi had granted permission for a Russian church in the suburbs of Peking; which church was to be served by Siberian priests, the whole at

the emperor's own expence, who was so indulgent to cause this church to be built for the accommodation of several families of eastern Siberia; some of whom had been prisoners before the peace of 1680; and the others were adventurers from their own country, who would return back again after the peace of Nipitchou. The agreeable climate of Pekin, the obliging manners of the Chinese, and the ease with which they found a handsome living, determined them to spend the rest of their days in China. The small Greek church could not become dangerous to the peace of the empire, as those of the Jesuits have been to that of other nations; and moreover, the emperor Camhi was a favourer of liberty of conscience. Toleration has, at all times, been the established custom in Asia, as it was in former times all over the world till the reign of the Roman emperor Theodosius I. The Russian families thus established in China, having intermarried with the natives, have since quitted the Christian religion, but their church still subsists.

It was stipulated, that this church should be for the use of those who come with the Siberian caravans, to bring furs and other commodities wanted at Pekin. The voyage out and home, and their stay in the country, generally took up three years. Prince Gagarin, governor of Siberia, was twenty years at the head of this trade. The caravans were sometimes very numerous; and it was difficult to keep the common people, who made the greatest number, within proper bounds.

They passed through the territories of a Laman priest, who is a kind of a Tartarian sovereign, resides on the sea-coast of Orkon, and has the title of Koutoukas: he is the vicar of the grand

Lama, but has rendered himself independent, by making some change in the religion of the country, where the Indian tenet of metempsychosis is the prevailing opinion. We cannot find a more apt comparison for this priest, than in the bishops of Lubec and Osnaburg who have shaken off the dominion of the church of Rome. The caravans, in their march, sometimes committed depredations on the territories of this Tartarian prelate, as they did also in those of the Chinese. This irregular conduct proved an impediment to the trade of those parts, for the Chinese threatened to shut the entrance into their empire against the Russians, who brought from thence gold, silver, and precious stones, in return for their merchandise. The largest ruby in the world was brought out of China to prince Gagarin, who sent it to prince Menzikoff; and it is now one of the ornaments of the imperial crown.

The exactions put in practice by prince Gagarin were of great prejudice to that trade, which had brought him so much riches; and, at length they ended in his own destruction: for he was accused before the court of justice, established by the czar, and sentenced to lose his head a year after the condemnation of the czarowitz, and the execution of all those who had been his accomplices.

About the same time the emperor Camhi, perceiving his health to decay, and knowing by experience, that the European mathematicians were much more learned in their art than those of his own nation, thought that the European physicians must also have more knowledge than those of Pekin, and therefore sent a message to the czar, by some ambassadors who were returning from China to

Petersburg, requesting him to send him one of his physicians. There happened at that time to be an English surgeon at Petersburg, who offered to undertake the journey in that character; and accordingly set out in company with a new ambassador, and one Laurence Lange, who has left a description of that journey. This embassy was received, and all the expences of it defrayed with great pomp by Camhi. The surgeon, at his arrival, found the emperor in perfect health, and gained the reputation of a most skilful physician. The caravans who followed this embassy made prodigious profits; but fresh excesses having been committed by this very caravan, the Chinese were so offended thereat, that they sent back Lange, who was at that time resident from the czar at the Chinese court, and with him all the Russian merchants established there.

The emperor Camhi dying, his son Yontchin, who had as great a share of wisdom, and more firmness than his father, and who drove the jesuits out of his empire, as the czar had done from Russia in 1718. concluded a treaty with Peter, by which the Russian caravans were no more to trade on the frontiers of the two empires. There are only certain factors, dispatched in the name of the emperor or empress of Russia, and these have liberty to enter Peking, where they are lodged in a vast house, which the emperor of China formerly assigned for the reception of the envoys from Corea; but it is a considerable time since either caravans or factor have been sent from Russia thither; so that the trade is now in a declining way, but may possibly soon be revived.

Of the trade of PETERSBURG, and the other ports of the RUSSIAN empire.

There were at this time above 200 foreign vessels that traded to the new capital, in the space of a year. This trade has continued encreasing, and has frequently brought in five millions (French money) to the crown. This was greatly more than the interest of the money which this establishment had cost. This trade, however, greatly diminished that of Archangel, and was precisely what the founder desired ; for the port of Archangel is too dangerous, and at too great distance from other ports : besides that, a trade which is carried on immediately under the eye of an assiduous sovereign, is always the most advantageous. That of Livonia continued still on the same footing. The trade of Russia in general has proved very successful ; its ports have received from 1000 to 1200 vessels in a year, and Peter discovered the happy expedient of joining utility to glory.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the L A W S.

IT is well known, that good laws are scarce, and that the due execution of them is still more so. The greater the extent of any state, and the variety of people of which it is composed, the more difficult it is to unite them by the same body of laws. The father of the czar Peter formed a digest or code under the title of *Oulogenia*, which was actually printed, but it by no means answered the end intended.

Peter, in the course of his travels, had collected materials for repairing this great structure, which was falling to decay in many of its parts. He gathered many useful hints from the government of Denmark, Sweden, England, Germany, and France, selecting from each of these different nations what he thought most suitable to his own.

There was a court of boyars or great men, who determined all matters *en dernier ressort*. Rank and birth alone gave a seat in this assembly; but the czar thought that knowledge was likewise requisite, and therefore this court was dissolved.

He then instituted a procurator-general, assisted by four assessors, in each of the governments of the empire. These were to overlook the conduct of the judges, whose decrees were subject to an appeal to the senate which he established. Each of these judges was furnished with a copy of the *Oulogenia*, with additions and necessary alterations, until a complete body of laws could be formed,

It was forbid to these judges to receive any fees, which, however moderate, are always an abusive tax on the fortunes and the properties of those concerned in suits of law. The czar took care that the expences of the court were moderate, and the decisions speedy. The judges and their clerks had salaries appointed them out of the public treasury, and were not suffered to purchase their offices.

It was in the year 1718, at the very time that he was engaged in the process against his son, that he made the chief part of these regulations. The greatest part of the laws he enacted were borrowed from those of the Swedes, and he made no difficulty to admit to places in his courts of judicature such Swedish prisoners who were well versed in the laws of their own country, and who having learnt the Russian language, were willing to continue in that kingdom.

The governor of each province and his assessors had the cognizance of private causes within such government; from them there was an appeal to the senate; and if any one, after having been condemned by the senate, appealed to the czar himself, and such appeal was found unjust, he was punished with death: but to mitigate the rigour of this law, the czar created a master of the requests, who received the petitions of those who had affairs depending in the senate, or in the inferior courts, concerning which the laws then in force were not sufficiently explanatory.

At length, in 1722, he completed his new code, prohibiting all the judges, under pain of death, to depart therefrom in their decrees, or to set up their own private opinions in place of the general statutes. This dreadful ordonance was publicly

fixed up, and still remains in all the courts of judicature of the empire.

He erected ever thing anew; there was not even to the common affairs of society, ought but what was his work. He regulated the degrees between man and man, according to their posts and employments, from the admiral and the field-marshal to the ensign, without any regard to birth.

Having always in his own mind, and willing to imprint it on those of his subjects, that services are preferable to pedigree, a certain rank was likewise fixed for the women; and she who took a place in a public assembly, that did not properly belong to her, was obliged to pay a fine.

By a still more useful regulation, every private soldier, on being made an officer, instantly became a gentleman; and a nobleman, if his character had been impeached in a court of justice, was degraded to a plebeian.

After the settling of these several laws and regulations, it happened that the increase of towns, wealth, and population in the empire, new undertakings, and the creation of new employs, necessarily introduced a multitude of new affairs and unforeseen cases, which were all consequences of that success which attended the czar in the general reformation of his dominions.

The empress Elizabeth completed the body of the laws which her father had begun, in which she gave the most lively proofs of that mildness and clemency for which she was so justly famed.

C H A P. XIV.
OF RELIGION.

AT this time also Peter laboured more than ever to reform the clergy. He had abolished the patriarchal office, and by this act of authority had alienated the minds of the ecclesiastics. He was determined that the imperial power should be free and absolute, and that of the church respected, but submissive. His design was, to establish a council of religion, which would always subsist, but dependent on the sovereign, and that it should give no laws to the church, but such as should be approved of by the head of the state, of which the church was a part. He was assisted in this undertaking by the archbishop of Novogorod, named Theophanes Procop, or Procopowitz, i. e. son of Procop.

This prelate was a person of great learning and sagacity; his travels through the different parts of Europe had afforded him opportunities of remarks on the several abuses which reign amongst them. The czar, who had himself been a witness of the same, had this great advantage in forming all his regulations, that he was possessed of an unlimited power to chuse what was useful, and reject what was dangerous. He laboured, in concert with the archbishop, in the years 1718 and 1719, to effect his design. He established a perpetual synod, to be composed of twelve members, partly bishops, and partly archpriests, all to be chosen by the sovereign. This college was afterwards augmented to fourteen.

The motives of this establishment were explained by the czar in a preliminary discourse. The chief and most remarkable of these was, "That, under the administration of a college of priests, there was less danger of troubles and insurrections, than under the government of a single head of the church; because the common people, who are always prone to superstition, might, by seeing one head of the church, and another of the state, be led to believe that they were in fact two different powers." And hereupon he cites as an example, the divisions which so long subsisted between the empire and the papal see, and which stained so many kingdoms with blood.

Peter thought, and openly declared, that the notion of two powers in a state, founded on the allegory of two swords, mentioned in the apostles, was absurd and erroneous.

This court was invested with the ecclesiastical power of regulating penances, and examining into the morals and capacity of those nominated by the court to bishopricks, to pass judgment *en dernier ressort* in all cases relating to religion, in which it was the custom formerly to appeal to the patriarch, and also to take cognizance of the revenues of monasteries, and the distribution of alms.

This synod had the title of *most holy*, the same which the patriarchs were wont to assume; and in fact the czar seemed to have preserved the patriarchal dignity, but divided among fourteen members, who were all dependent on the crown, and were to take an oath of obedience, which the patriarchs never did. The members of this holy synod, when met in assembly, had the same rank as the senators; but they were, like the senate, all dependent on the prince. But neither this new

form of church administration, nor the ecclesiastical code, were in full vigour till four years after its institution, namely in 1722. Peter at first intended, that the synod should have the presentation of those whom they thought most worthy to fill the vacant bishopricks. These were to be nominated by the emperor and consecrated by the synod. Peter frequently presided in person at the assembly. One day that a vacant see was to be filled, the synod observed to the emperor, that they had none but ignorant persons to present to his majesty: "Well then," replied the czar, "you have only to pitch upon the most honest man, he will be worth two learned ones."

It is to be observed, that the Greek church has none of that motley order called secular abbots. The *small band* is unknown there, otherwise than by the ridiculousness of its character; but by another abuse (as every thing in this world must be subject to abuse) the bishops and prelates are all chosen from the monastic orders. The first monks were only laymen, partly devotees, and partly fanatics, who retired into the deserts, where they were at length gathered together by St. Basil, who gave them a body of rules, and then they took vows, and were reckoned as the lower order of the church, which is the first step to be taken to arise at higher dignities. It was this that filled all Greece and Asia with monks. Russia was overrun with them. They became rich, powerful, and though excessively ignorant, they were, at the accession of Peter to the throne, almost the only persons who knew how to write. Of this knowledge they made such an abuse, when struck and confounded with the new regulations which Peter introduced in all the departments of government,

that he was obliged in 1703 to issue an edict, forbidding the use of pen and ink to the monks, without an express order from the archimandrite, or prior of the convent, who in that case was responsible for the behaviour of those to whom he granted this indulgence.

Peter designed to make this a standing law, and at first he intended, that no one should be admitted into any order under fifty years of age; but that appeared too late an age, as the life of man being in general so limited, there was not time sufficient for such persons to acquire the necessary qualifications for being made bishops; and therefore with the advice of this synod, he placed it at thirty years compleat, but never under; at the same time expressly prohibiting any person exercising the profession of a soldier, or an husbandman, to enter into a convent, without an immediate order from the emperor, or the synod, and to admit no married man upon any account, even though divorced from his wife; unless that wife should, at the same time, embrace a religious life of her own pure will, and that neither of them had any children. No person in actual employ under the government, can take the habit, without an express order of state for that purpose. Every monk is obliged to work with his hands at some trade. The nuns are never to go without the walls of their convent, and at the age of fifty are to receive the tonsure, as did the deaconesses of the primitive church; but if, before undergoing that ceremony, they have an inclination to marry, they are not only allowed, but even exhorted so to do. An admirable regulation in a country where population is of infinitely greater use than a monastic life!

Peter was desirous that those unhappy females, whom God has destined to people a kingdom, and who, by a mistaken devotion, annihilated, in cloisters, that race of which they would otherwise become mothers, should at least be of some service to society, which they thus injure; and therefore ordered, that they should all be employed in some handyworks, suitable to their sex. The empress Catharine took upon herself the care of sending for several handicrafts over from Brabant and Holland, whom she distributed among these convents, and, in a short time, they produced several kinds of work, which the empress and her ladies always wore as a part of their dress.

There cannot perhaps be any thing conceived more prudent than these institutions; but what merits the attention of all ages, is the regulation which Peter made himself, and which he addressed to the synod in 1724. The ancient ecclesiastical institution is there very learnedly explained, and the indolence of the monkish life admirably well exposed; and he not only recommends an application to labour and industry, but even commands it; and that the principal occupation of those people should be, to assist and relieve the poor. He likewise orders, that sick and infirm soldiers should be quartered in the convents, and that a certain number of monks shall be set apart to take care of them, and that the most strong and healthy of these shall cultivate the lands belonging to those convents. He orders the same regulation to be observed in the monasteries for women, and that the strongest of these shall take care of the gardens, and the rest to wait on sick or infirm women who shall be brought from the neighbouring country into the convents for that purpose.

He also enters into the minutest details relating to these services; and lastly, he appoints certain monasteries of both sexes for the reception and education of orphans.

In reading this ordinance of Peter the Great, which was published the 31st of January 1724, one would imagine it to have been framed by a minister of state and a father of the church.

Almost all the customs in the Russian church are different from those of ours. As soon as a man is made a sub-deacon, we prohibit him from marrying, and he is accounted guilty of sacrilege if he proves instrumental to the population of his country. On the contrary, when any one has taken a sub-deacon's orders in Russia, he is obliged likewise to take wife, and then may rise to the rank of priest, and arch-priest; but he cannot be made a bishop unless he is a widower and a monk.

Peter prohibited all parish priests from bringing up more than one son to the service of the church unless it was particularly desired by the parishioners; and this he did, lest a numerous family might in time come to tyrannize over the parish. We may perceive in these little circumstances relating to church-government, that the legislator had always the good of the state in view, and that he took every precaution to make the clergy properly respected, without being dangerous, and that they should be neither contemptible nor powerful.

In those curious memoirs, composed by an officer who was a particular favourite of Peter the Great, I find the following anecdote. One day a person reading to the czar that number of the English Spectator, in which a parallel is drawn between him and Lewis XIV. "I do not think."

said Peter, "that I deserve the preference that is here given me over that monarch; but I have been fortunate enough to have the superiority over him in one essential point, namely, that of having obliged my clergy to live in peace and submission, whereas my brother Lewis has suffered himself to be ruled by his."

A prince, whose days were almost wholly spent in the fatigues of war, and his nights in the compiling laws for the better government of so large an empire, and in directing so many great labours, through a space of two thousand leagues, must stand in need of some hours of amusement. Diversions at that time were neither so noble or elegant as they now are, and therefore we must not wonder if Peter amused himself with the entertainment of the sham conclave, of which mention has been already made, and other diversions of the same stamp, which were frequently at the expence of the Romish church, to which he had a great dislike, and which was very pardonable in a prince of the Greek communion, who was determined to be master in his own dominions. He likewise gave several entertainments of the same kind at the expence of the monks of his own country; but of the ancient monks, whose follies and bigotry he wished to ridicule, while he strove to reform the new.

We have already seen, that, previous to his publishing his church-laws, he created one of his fools pope, and celebrated the feast of the sham conclave. This fool, whose name was Josof, was between eighty or ninety. The czar took it into his head to make him marry an old widow of his own age, and to have their nuptials publicly solemnized; he caused the invitation to the marriage guests to be made by four persons who were remarkable for

stammering The bride was conducted to church by decrepit old men; four of the most bulky men that could be found in Russia acted as running footmen. The music were seated in a waggon drawn by bears, whom they every now and then pricked with goads of iron, and who by their roaring, formed a full base, perfectly agreeable to the concert in the cart. The married couple received the benediction in the cathedral from the hands of a deaf and blind, priest, who, to appear more ridiculous, wore a large pair of spectacles on his nose. The procession, the wedding, the marriage-feast, the undressing of the bride and bridegroom, and putting them to bed, were all of a piece with the rest of this burlesque ceremony.

We may perhaps be apt to look upon this as a very trivial and ridiculous entertainment for a great prince; but is it more so than our carnival? or to see five or six hundred persons with masks on their faces, and dressed in the most ridiculous manner, skipping and jumping about together for a whole night in a large room, without speaking a word to each other?

In fine, were the ancient feasts of the fools and the ass, and the abbot of the cuckolds, which were formerly celebrated in our churches, much superior; or did our comedies of the foolish Mother exhibit marks of a greater genius!

C H A P. XV.

The Congress of Aland. Death of Charles XII.
The Treaty of Nyftadt.

THESE immense labours, this minute review of the whole Russian empire, and the melancholy proceedings against his unhappy son, were not the only objects which demanded the attention of the czar : it was necessary to secure himself without doors, at the same time that he was settling order and tranquillity within. The war with Sweden was still carried on though faintly, in hopes of an approaching peace.

It is a known fact, that, in the year 1717, Cardinal Alberoni, prime minister to Philip V. of Spain, and baron Goertz, who had gained an entire ascendant over the mind of Charles XII. had concerted a project to change the face of affairs in Europe, by effecting a reconciliation between this last prince and the czar, driving George I. from the English throne, and replacing Stanislaus on that of Poland, while Cardinal Alberoni was to procure the regency of France for his master Philip. Goertz, as has been already observed, had opened his mind on this head to the czar himself. Alberoni had begun a negotiation with prince Kourakin, the czar's ambassador at the Hague, by means of the Spanish ambassador Baretti Landi, a native of Mantua, who had, like the cardinal, quitted his own country to live in Spain.

Thus a set of foreigners were about to overturn the general system, for masters under whose dominion they were not born, or rather for themselves. Charles XII. gave into all these projects,

and the czar contented himself with examining them in private. Since the year 1716, he made only feeble efforts against Sweden, and those rather with a view to oblige that kingdom to purchase peace by the cession of provinces he had conquered, than with an intent to crush it altogether.

The baron Goertz, ever active and indefatigable in his projects, had prevailed on the czar to send plenipotentiaries to the island of Aland to set on foot a treaty of peace. Bruce, a Scotchman, and grand master of the ordnance in Russia, and the famous Osterman, who was afterwards at the head of affairs, arrived at the place appointed for the congress exactly at that time that the czarowitz was put under arrest at Moscow. Goertz and Gillemburg were already there on the part of Charles XII. both impatient to bring about a reconciliation between that prince and Peter, and to revenge themselves on the king of England. It was an extraordinary circumstance that there should be a congress, and no cessation of arms. The czar's fleet still continued cruising on the coasts of Sweden, and taking the ships of that nation. Peter thought by keeping up hostilities to hasten the conclusion of a peace, of which he knew the Swedes stood greatly in need, and which must prove highly glorious to the conqueror.

Notwithstanding the little hostilities which still continued, every thing bespoke the speedy approach of peace. The preliminaries began by mutual acts of generosity, which produce stronger effects than many hand-writings. The czar sent back without ransom marshal Erenscheld, whom he had taken prisoner with his own hands; and Charles in return did the same by Trubeiskoy and

Gollowin, who had continued prisoners in Sweden ever since the battle of Narva

The negotiations now advanced apace and a total change was going to be made in the affairs of the north. Goertz proposed to the czar to put the duchy of Mecklenburg into his hands. Duke Charles its sovereign, who had married a daughter of czar John, Peter's elder brother, was at variance with the nobility of the country, who had taken arms against him. And Peter, who had looked upon that prince as his brother-in-law, had an army in Mecklenburg ready to espouse his cause. The king of England, elector of Hanover, declared on the side of the nobles. Here was another opportunity of mortifying the king of England, by putting Peter in possession of Mecklenburg, who, being already master of Livonia, would by this means, in a short time, become more powerful in Germany than any of its electors. The duchy of Courland was to be given to the duke of Mecklenburg, as an equivalent for his own, together with a part of Prussia at the expence of Poland, who was to have Stanislaus again for its king. Bremen and Verden were to revert to Sweden: but these provinces could not be wrested out of the hands of the king of England but by force of arms; accordingly Goertz's project was, as we have already said, to effect a firm union between Peter and Charles XII. and that not only by the bands of peace, but by an offensive alliance, in which case they were jointly to send an army into Scotland. Charles XII. after having made himself master of Norway, was to make a descent on Great Britain, and he fondly imagined he should be able to set a new sovereign on the throne of these kingdoms, after having replaced one of his own chusing on that of Poland.

Cardinal Alberoni promised both Peter and Charles to furnish them with subsidies. The fall of the king of England would, it was supposed, draw with it that of his ally the regent of France, who being thus deprived of all support, was to fall a victim to the victorious arms of Spain, and the discontent of the French nation.

Alberoni and Goertz now thought themselves secure of totally overturning the system of Europe, when a cannon-ball, from the bastions of Fredericks-hall in Norway, confounded all their mighty projects. Charles XII. was killed, the panish fleet was beaten by that of England, the conspiracy which had been formed in France was discovered and quelled, Alberoni was driven out of Spain, and Goertz was beheaded at Stockholm; and of all this formidable league so lately made, the czar alone retained his credit, who, by not having put himself in the power of any one, gave laws to all his neighbours.

After the death of Charles XII. there was a total change of measures in Sweden. Charles had governed with a despotic power, and his sister Ulrica was elected Queen on express condition of renouncing arbitrary government. Charles intended to form an alliance with the czar against England and its allies; and the new government of Sweden now joined these allies against the czar.

The congress at Aland, however, was not broken up; but the Swedes, now in league with the English, flattered themselves that the fleets of that nation sent into the Baltic would procure them a more advantageous peace. A body of Hanoverian troops entered the dominions of the duke of Mecklenburg *, but were soon driven from thence by the czar's forces.

* Feb. 1716.

Peter likewise had a body of troops in Poland, which kept in awe both the party of Augustus, and that of Stanislaus; and as to Sweden, he had a fleet always ready, either to make a descent on their coasts, or oblige the Swedish government to hasten matters in the congress. This fleet consisted of twelve large ships of the line, and several lesser ones, besides frigates and galleys. The czar served on board this fleet as vice-admiral, under the command of admiral Apraxin.

A part of this fleet signalized itself in the beginning against a Swedish squadron, and after an obstinate engagement took one ship of the line and two frigates. Peter, who constantly endeavoured, by every possible means to encourage and improve the navy he had been at so much pains to establish, gave, on this occasion, 60,000 French livres in money among the officers of this squadron, with several gold medals, besides conferring marks of honour on those who principally distinguished themselves.

About this time also the English fleet under admiral Norris came up the Baltic in order to favour the Swedes. Peter, who well knew how far he could depend on his new navy, was not to be frightened by the English but boldly kept the sea, and sent to know of the English admiral, if he was come only as a friend to the Swedes, or as an enemy to Russia. The admiral returned for answer, that he had not as yet any positive orders from his court on that head; however Peter, notwithstanding this equivocal reply, continued to keep the sea with his fleet.

The English fleet, which in fact was come thither only to shew itself, and thereby induce the czar to grant more favourable conditions of peace to

the Swedes, went to Copenhagen, and the Russians made some descents on the Swedish coast, and even in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, where they destroyed some copper mines, burnt 15,000 houses *, and did mischief enough to make the Swedes heartily wish for a speedy conclusion of the peace.

Accordingly the new queen of Sweden pressed the renewal of the negotiations. Osterman himself was sent to Stockholm, and matters continued in this situation during the whole of the year 1719.

The following year the prince of Hesse, husband to the queen of Sweden, and now become king, in virtue of her having yielded up the sovereign power in his favour, began his reign by sending a minister to the court of Petersburg in order to hasten the so much desired peace; but the war was still carrying on in the midst of these negotiations.

The English fleet joined that of the Swedes, but did not yet commit any hostilities, as there was no open rupture between the courts of Russia and England, and admiral Norris even offered his master's mediation towards bringing about a peace; but as this offer was made with arms in hand, it rather retarded than facilitated the negotiations. The coasts of Sweden, and those of the new Russian provinces in the Baltic, are so situated, that the former lay open to every insult, while the latter are secured by their difficult access. This was clearly seen when admiral Norris, after having thrown off the mask, made a descent in conjunction with the Swedish fleet on the little island in the province of Estonia †, called Narguen, which be-

* July 1719.

† June 1720.

longed to the czar, where they only burnt a peasant's house; but the Russians at the same time made a descent near Wasa, and burnt 41 villages, and upwards of 1000 houses, and did an infinite deal of damage to the country round about. Prince Galitzin boarded and took four Swedish frigates; and the English admiral seemed to have come only to be spectator of that pitch of glory to which the czar had raised his infant navy; for he had but just shewn himself in those seas, when the Swedish frigates were carried in triumph into the harbour of Cronslot before Petersburg. On this occasion, methinks, the English did too much if they came only as mediators, and too little if as enemies.

At length, the king of Sweden demanded a cessation of arms*; and as he found the menaces of the English had stood him in no stead, he had recourse to the duke of Orleans, the French regent; and this prince, at once an ally of Russia and Sweden†, had the honour of effecting a reconciliation between them. He sent Campredon his plenipotentiary to the court of Petersburg, and from thence to that of Stockholm. A congress was opened at Nystadt; but the czar would not agree to a cessation of arms till matters were on the point of being concluded, and the plenipotentiaries ready to sign. He had an army in Finland ready to subdue the rest of that province, and his fleets were continually threatening the Swedish coasts, so that he seemed absolute master of dictating the terms of peace: accordingly they subscribed to whatever he thought fit to demand. By this treaty he was to remain in perpetual possession of all

* November, 1720.

† February. 1721.

that his arms had conquered, from the borders of Courland to the extremity of the gulph of Finland, and from thence again of the whole extent of the country of Kexholm, and that narrow slip of Finland which stretches out to the northward of the neighbourhood of Kexholm; so that he remained master of all Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, Carelia, with the country of Wyburg, and the neighbouring isles, which secured to him the sovereignty of the sea, as likewise of the isles of Oesel, Dago, Mona, and several others: the whole forming an extent of 3000 leagues of country, of unequal breadth, and which altogether made a large kingdom, that proved the reward of twenty years immense pains and labour.

The peace was signed at Nyttadt the 10th of September 1721, N. S. by the Russian minister Osterman, and general Bruce.

Peter was the more rejoiced at that event, as it freed him from keeping such large armies on the frontiers of Sweden, as also from any apprehensions on the part of England, or of the neighbouring states, and left him at full liberty to exert his whole attention to the new modelling of his empire in which he had already made so successful a beginning, and to cherish arts and commerce, which he had introduced among his subjects at the expence of infinite labour and industry.

In the first transports of his joy, we find him writing in these terms to his plenipotentiaries: "You have drawn up the treaty as if we ourselves had dictated and sent it to you to offer the Swedes to sign. This glorious event shall be ever present to our remembrance"

All degrees of people throughout the Russian empire gave proofs of their satisfaction, by the most extraordinary rejoicings of all kinds, and particu-

larly at Petersburg. The triumphal festivals, with which the czar had entertained his people, during the course of the war, were nothing to compare to these rejoicings for the peace, which every one hailed with unutterable satisfaction. The peace itself was the most glorious of all his triumphs; and what pleased more than all the pompous shews on the occasion, was a free pardon and general release granted to all prisoners, and a general remission of all sums due to the royal treasury for taxes throughout the whole empire, to the day of the publication of the peace. In consequence of which a multitude of unhappy wretches, who had been confined in prison, were set at liberty, excepting only those guilty of highway robbery, murder, or treason.

It was at this time that the senate decreed Peter the titles of *Great, Emperor, and Father of his country*. Count Golofkin, the high chancellor, made a speech to the czar in the great cathedral, in the name of all the orders of the state, the senators crying aloud, *Long live our emperor and father!* in which acclamations they were joined by the united voice of all the people present. The ministers of France, Germany, Poland, Denmark, and the States-General, waited on him with their congratulations on the titles lately bestowed on him, and formally acknowledged for emperor him who had been always known in Holland by that title, ever since the battle of Pultowa. The names of *Father*, and of *Great*, were glorious epithets, which no one in Europe could dispute him; that of *Emperor* was only an honorary title, given by custom to the sovereigns of Germany, as titular kings of the Romans; and it requires time before such appellations come to be formally adopted by those courts where forms of state and real glory are dif-

ferent things. But Peter was in a short time after acknowledged emperor by all the states of Europe, excepting that of Poland, which was still divided by factions; and the pope, whose suffrage was become of very little significance since the court of Rome had lost its credit in proportion as other nations became more enlightened.

C H A P. XVI.

Conquests in P E R S I A.

THE situation of Russia is such, as necessarily obliges her to keep up certain connections with all the nations that lie about the fiftieth degree of north latitude. When under a bad administration, she was a prey by turns to the Tartars, the Swedes, and the Poles; but when governed by a resolute and vigorous prince, she became formidable to all her neighbours. Peter began his reign by an advantageous treaty with the Chinese. He had waged war at one and the same time against the Swedes and the Turks, and now prepared to lead his victorious armies into Persia.

At this time Persia began to fall into that deplorable state, in which we now behold her. Let us figure to ourselves the thirty years war in Germany, the times of the league, those of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the reigns of Charles VI. and king John in France, the civil wars in England, the long and horrible ravages of the whole Russian empire by the Tartars, or their invasion of China; and then we shall have some slight conception of the miseries under which the Persian empire has so long groaned.

A weak and indolent prince, and a powerful and enterprising subject, are sufficient to plunge a whole nation into such an abyſs of diſaſters. Sha Huſſein, ſophi of Perſia, a deſcendant of the great Sha Abbas, who ſat at this time on the throne of Perſia, had given himſelf wholly up to luxury and effeminacy: his prime miniſter committed acts of the greateſt violence and injuſtice, which this great prince winked at, and this gave riſe to forty years deſolation and bloodſhed.

Perſia, like Turkey, has ſeveral provinces, all governed in a different manner. She has ſubjects immediately under her dominion, vaſſals, tributary princes, and even nations, to whom the court was wont to pay a tribute, under the name of ſubſidies: for inſtance, the people of Dagheſtan, who inhabit the branches of mount Caucasus, to the weſtward of the Caſpian ſea, which was formerly a part of the ancient Albania; for all nations have changed their appellations and their limits. Theſe are now called Leſſians, and are mountaineers, who are rather under the protection than under the dominion of Perſia. To theſe the government paid ſubſidies for defending the frontiers.

At the other extremity of the empire, towards the Indies, was the prince of Candahar, who commanded a kind of martial militia, called Afghans. This prince of Candahar was a vaſſal of the Perſian, as the hoſpodars of Walachia and Moldavia are of the Turkiſh empire. This vaſſalage was not hereditary, but exactly the ſame with the ancient feudal tenures eſtabliſhed throughout Europe, by that race of Tartars who overthrew the Roman empire. The Afghan militia, of which the prince of Candahar was the head, was the ſame with the Albanians on the coaſts of the Caſpian ſea, in the

neighbourhood of Daghestan, and a mixture of Circassians and Georgians like the ancient Mamelucks who enslaved Egypt. The name of Afghans is a corruption; Timur, whom we call Tamerlane, had led these people into India, and they remained settled in the province of Candahar, which sometimes belonged to the Mogul empire, and sometimes to that of Persia. It was these Afghans and Leshians who began the revolution.

Mir-Weis, or Meriwitz, intendant of the province, whose office was only to collect the tributes, assassinated the prince of Candahar, armed the militia, and continued master of the province till his death, which happened in 1717. His brother came quietly to the succession, by paying a slight tribute to the Persian court. But the son of Mir-Weis, who inherited the ambition of his father, assassinated his uncle, and began to erect himself into a conqueror. This young man was called Mir-Mahmoud, but he was known in Europe only by the name of his father, who had begun the rebellion. Mahmoud reinforced his Afghans by adding to them all the Guebres he could get together. These Guebres were an ancient race of Persians, who had been dispersed by the caliph Omar, and who still continued attached to the religion of the Magi (formerly flourishing in the reign of Cyrus) and were always secret enemies to the new Persians. Having assembled his forces, Mahmoud marched into the heart of Persia, at the head of an hundred thousand men.

At the same time Leshians or Albanians, who, on account of the troublesome times, had not received their subsidies from the court of Persia, came down from their mountains with an armed force, so that the flames of civil war were lighted

ap at both ends of the empire, and extended themselves even to the capital.

These Lefgians ravaged all that country which stretches along the western borders of the Caspian sea, as far as Derbent, or the *Iron-Gate*. In this country is situated the city of Shamachi, about fifteen leagues distant from the sea, and is said to have been the ancient residence of Cyrus, and by the Greeks called Cyropolis, for we know nothing of the situation or names of these countries but what we have from the Greeks; but as the Persians never had a prince who they called Cyrus, much less had they any city called Cyropolis. It is much in the same manner that the Jews, who commenced authors when they were settled in Alexandria, invented a city that they called Scythopolis, which, said they, was built by the Scythians in the neighbourhood of Judea, as if either Scythians or ancient Jews could have given Greek names to their towns.

The city of Shamachi was very rich. The Armenians who inhabit in the neighbourhood of this part of the Persian empire, carried on an immense traffic there, and Peter had lately established a company of Russian merchants at his own expence which afterwards became very flourishing. The Lefgians made themselves masters of this city by surprize, plundered it, and put to death all the Russians who traded under the protection of Shah Hussein, after having stripped all their warehouses. The loss on this occasion was said to amount to four millions of rubles.

Peter upon this sent to demand satisfaction of the emperor Hussein, who was then disputing the throne with the rebel Mahmoud, who had then usurped it, and likewise of Mahmoud himself.

The former of these was willing to do the czar justice, the other refused it; Peter therefore resolved to right himself, and take advantage of the distractions in the Persian empire.

Mir Mahmoud still pushed his conquests in Persia. The sopher hearing that the emperor of Russia was preparing to enter the Caspian sea, in order to revenge the murder of his subjects at Shamachi, made private application to him, by the means of an Armenian, to take upon him at the same time the defence of Persia.

Peter had for a considerable time formed a project to make himself master of the Caspian sea, by means of a powerful naval force, and to turn the tide of commerce from Persia and a part of India through his own dominions. He had caused several parts of this sea to be sounded, the coasts to be surveyed, and exact charts made of the whole. He then set sail for the coast of Persia the 15th day of May, 1722. Catharine accompanied him in this voyage, as she had done in the former. They sailed down the Wolga as far as the city of Astracan. From thence he hastened to forward the canals which were to join the Caspian, the Baltic, and Euxine seas, a work which has been since executed in part under the reign of his grandson.

While he was directing these works, the necessary provisions for his expedition were arrived in the Caspian sea. He was to take with him 22,000 foot, 9000 dragoons, 15,000 Cossacks, and 3000 seamen, who were to work the ships, and occasionally assist the soldiery in making descents on the coast. The horse were to march over land thro' deserts where there was frequently no water to be had, and afterwards to pass over the mountains

of Caucasus, where 300 men were sufficient to stop the progress of a whole army; but the distracted condition in which Persia then was, warranted the most hazardous enterprizes.

The czar sailed about an hundred leagues to the southward of Astracan, till he came to the little town of Andrewhoff. It may appear extraordinary to hear of the name of Andrew on the coasts of the Hyrcanian sea; but some Georgians, who were formerly a sect of Christians, had built this town, which the Persians afterwards fortified; but it fell an easy prey to the czar's arms. From thence he continued advancing by land into the province of Daghestan, and caused manifestoes to be circulated in the Turkish and Persian languages. It was necessary to keep fair with the Ottoman Porte, who reckoned among its subjects, not only the Circassians and Georgians, who border upon this country, but also several powerful vassals, who had of late put themselves under the protection of the grand signior.

Among others, there was one very powerful, named Mahmoud d'Utmich, who took the title of sultan, and had the courage to attack the czar's troops, by which he was totally defeated, and the story says, that his whole country was made a bonfire on the occasion.

In a short time afterwards Peter arrived at the city of Derbent*, by the Persians and Turks called Demir Capi, that is, the Iron Gate, and so named from having formerly had an iron gate at the south entrance. The city is long and narrow, its upper part joins to a rocky branch of mount Caucasus, and the walls of the lower part are wash-

* Sept. 14. 1722.

ed by the sea, which in violent storms makes a breach over them. These walls may pass for one of the wonders of antiquity, being forty feet in height, and six in breadth, defended with square towers at the distance of every fifty feet. The whole work seems one uniform piece, and is built of a sort of brown free stone mixed with pounded shells, which served as mortar, so that the whole forms a mass harder than marble. The city lies open from the sea, but that part of it next the land appears impregnable. There are still some ruins of an old wall like that of China, which must have been built in the earliest times of antiquity, and stretched from the borders of the Caspian to the Euxine sea; and this was probably a rampart raised by the ancient kings of Persia against those swarms of barbarian herds which dwelt between these two seas.

According to the Persian tradition, the city of Derbent was partly repaired and fortified by Alexander the Great. Arrian and Quintus Curtius tell us, that Alexander absolutely rebuilt this city. They say indeed that it was on the banks of the Tanais on Don, but then in their time the Greeks gave the name of Tanais to the river Cyrus, which runs by the city. It would be a contradiction to suppose that Alexander should build an harbour in the Caspian sea, on a river that opens into the Black sea.

There were formerly three or four other ports in different parts of the Caspian sea. All which were probably built with the same view: for the several nations inhabiting to the west, east, and north of that sea, have in all times been barbarians, who had rendered themselves formidable to the rest of the world, and from hence principally

issued those swarms of conquerors who subjected Asia and Europe.

And here I must beg leave to remark, how much pleasure authors in all ages have taken to impose upon mankind, and how much they have preferred a vain shew of eloquence to matter of fact. Quintus Curtius puts into the mouths of Scythians an admirable speech full of moderation and philosophy, as if the Tartars of these regions had been all so many sages, and that Alexander had not been the general nominated by the Greeks against the king of Persia, sovereign of the greatest part of southern Scythia and the Indies. Other rhetoricians, thinking to imitate Quintus Curtius, have studied to make us look upon those savages of Caucasus and its dreary desarts, who lived wholly upon rapine and bloodshed, as the people in the world most remarkable for austere virtue and justice, and have painted Alexander, the avenger of Greece, and the conqueror of those who would have enslaved him and his country, as a public robber, who had ravished the world without justice or reason.

Such writers do not consider, that these Tartars were never other than destroyers, and that Alexander built towns in the very country which they inhabited; and in this respect I may venture to compare Peter the Great to Alexander; like him he was assiduous and indefatigable in his pursuits, a lover and a friend of the useful arts; he surpassed him as a law-giver, and like him endeavoured to change the tide of commerce in the world, and built and repaired at least as many towns as that celebrated hero of antiquity.

On the approach of the Russian army, the governor of Derbent resolved not to sustain a siege,

whether he thought he was not able to defend the place, or that he preferred the czar's protection to that of the tyrant Mahmoud; but brought the keys of the town and citadel (which were silver) and presented them to Peter, whose army peaceably entered the city, and then encamped on the sea-shore

The usurper Mahmoud, already master of great part of Persia, in vain endeavoured to prevent the czar from taking possession of Derbent: he stirred up the neighbouring Tartars, and marched into Persia to the relief of the place, but too late, for Derbent was already in the hands of the conqueror.

Peter however was not in a condition to push his successes any further at this time. The vessels which were bringing him a fresh supply of provisions, horses, and recruits, had been cast away near Astracan, and the season had been far spent. He therefore returned to Moscow †, which he entered in triumph; and after his arrival (according to the custom) gave a strict account of his expedition to the vice-czar Romadanowiki; thus keeping up this extraordinary farce, which says his eulogium, pronounced in the academy of sciences at Paris, ought to have been performed before all the monarchs of the earth.

The empire of Persia continued to be divided between Hussein and the usurper Mahmoud. The first of these thought to find a protector in the czar and the other dreaded him as an avenger, who was come to snatch the fruits of his rebellion out of his hands. Mahmoud exerted all his endeavours to stir up the Ottoman Porte against Peter, and

† Jan. 5.

for this purpose sent an embassy to Constantinople, while the princes of Daghestan, who were under the protection of the grand siegnior, and who had been stripped of their territories by the victorious army of Peter, cried aloud for vengeance. The divan was now alarmed for the safety of Georgia, which the Turks reckon in the number of their dominions.

The grand seignior was on the point of declaring war against the czar, but was prevented by the courts of Vienna and Paris. The emperor of Germany at the same time declared, that if Russia should be attacked by the Turks, he must be obliged to defend it. The marquis de Bonac, the French ambassador at Constantinople, made a dextrous use of the menaces of the imperial court, and at the same time insinuated, that it was contrary to the true interests of the Turkish empire, to suffer a rebel and an usurper to set the example of dethroning sovereigns, and that the czar had done no more than what the grand siegnior himself ought to have done.

During these delicate negotiations, Mir Mahmoud was advanced to the gates of Derbent, and had laid waste all the neighbouring country in order to cut off all means of subsistence from the Russian army. That part of ancient Hyrcania, now called Ghilan, was reduced to a desert, and the inhabitants threw themselves under the protection of the Russians, whom they looked upon as their deliverers.

In this they followed the example of the sophi himself. That unfortunate prince sent a formal embassy to Peter the Great, to request his assistance; but the ambassador was hardly departed,

When the rebel Mir Mahmoud seized on Ispahan and the person of his master.

Thamaseb, the son of the dethroned sopher, who was taken prisoner, found means to escape out of the tyrant's hands, and got together a body of troops, with which he gave the usurper battle. He seconded his father's entreaties to Peter the Great for his protection, and sent to the ambassador the same instructions which Sha Hussein had given him.

This ambassador, whose name was Ishmael Beg, found that his negotiations had proved successful, even before he arrived in person; for, on landing at Astracan, he learned that general Matufkin was going to set out with fresh recruits to reinforce the army in Daghestan. The city of Baku, which with the Persians gives to the Caspian sea the name of the sea of Baku, was not yet taken. The ambassador therefore gave the Russian general a letter for the inhabitants, in which he exhorted them in his master's name to submit to the emperor of Russia. The ambassador then proceeded for Petersburg, and general Matufkin departed to lay siege to the city of Baku. The Persian ambassador arrived at the czar's court the very day that tidings were brought of the reduction of that city*.

Baku is situated near Shamachi, but is neither so well peopled, nor so rich as the latter. It is chiefly remarkable for the naphtha, with which it furnishes all Persia. Never was treaty so speedily concluded as that of Ishmael Beg†. Czar Peter promised to march with his forces into Persia, in order to revenge the death of his subjects, and to succour Thamaseb against the usurper of his

* Aug. 1722.

† Sept. 1723.

erown; and the new sopher in return was to cede to him not only the towns of Biku, and Derbent, but likewise the provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Asterabath.

Ghilan is, as we have already observed, the ancient South Hyrcania; Mazanderan, which joins to it, is the country of the Mardi; and Asterabath borders upon Mazanderan. These were the three principal provinces of the ancient Median kings; to that Peter beheld himself, by the means of arms and treaties, in possession of the original kingdom of Cyrus.

It may not be foreign to our subject to observe, that, by the articles of this convention, the prices of necessaries to be furnished to the army were settled. A camel was to cost only sixty franks (about twelve rubles;) a pound of bread no more than five tarthings, the same weight of beef about six. These prices furnish a convincing proof of the plenty he found in these countries, that possessions in land are of the most intrinsic value, and that money, which is only of nominal worth, was at that time very scarce.

Such was the deplorable state to which Persia was then reduced, that the unfortunate sopher Thamaseb, a wanderer in his own kingdom, and flying before the face of the rebel Mahmoud, who had dipt his hands in the blood of his father and his brothers, was necessitated to entreat the court of Russia and the Turkish divan to accept of one part of his dominions to preserve for him the rest.

It was agreed then, between czar Peter, sultan Achmer III. and the sopher Thamaseb, that the first of these should keep the three provinces above named, and that the Porte should have Cassbin, Tauris, and Erivan, besides what she had already taken from

the usurper. Thus was this noble kingdom dismembered at once by the Russians, and the Turks, and the Persians themselves.

And now the emperor Peter might be said to extend his dominions from the further part of the Baltic sea, beyond the southern limits of the Caspian. Persia still continued a prey to violations and devastations, and its natives, till then opulent and polite, were now sunk in poverty and barbarism, while the Russian people had arisen from indigence and ignorance to a state of riches and learning. One single man, by a resolute and enterprising genius, had brought his country out of obscurity; and another, by his weakness and indolence, had brought destruction upon his.

Hitherto we know very little of the private calamities which for so long a time spread desolation over the face of the Persian empire. It is said, that Shah Hussein was so pusillanimous as to place with his own hands the tiara or crown of Persia on the head of the usurper Mahmoud, and also that this Mahmoud afterwards went mad. Thus the lives of so many thousands of men depend on the caprice of a madman or a fool. They add further, that Mahmoud, in one of his fits of phrenzy, put to death with his own hand all the sons and nephews of Shah Hussein to the number of an hundred; and that he caused the gospel of St. John to be read upon his head, in order to purify himself, and receive a cure for his disorder. These and such like Persian fables have been circulated by our monks and afterwards printed in Paris.

The tyrant, after having murdered his uncle, was in his turn put to death by his nephew Eshreff who was as cruel and bloody a tyrant as Mahmoud himself.

Shah Thamaseb still continued in imploring the assistance of Russia. This Thamaseb was assisted, and afterwards replaced on the throne by the famous Kouli Khan, and was again dethroned by the same Kouli Khan.

The revolutions and wars which Russia had afterwards to encounter against the Turks, and in which she proved victorious, the evacuating the three provinces in Persia, which cost Russia more to keep them than they were worth, are events which do not concern Peter the Great, as they did not happen till several years after his death: it may suffice to observe, that he finished his military career by adding three provinces to his empire on the part next to Persia, after having just before added the same number on that side next to Sweden.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Coronation of the Empress Catharine I. and the Death of Peter the Great.

PETER, at his return from his Persian expedition, found himself in a better condition than ever to be the arbiter of the North. He now openly declared himself the protector of the family of Charles XII. whose professed enemy he had been for eighteen years. He sent for the duke of Holstein, nephew to that monarch, to his court, promised him his eldest daughter in marriage, and began to make preparations for supporting him in his claims on the duchy of Holstein-Sleswick, and even engaged himself to do by a treaty of alliance, which he concluded with the crown of Sweden*.

* Feb. 1724.

He continued the works he had begun all over his empire, to the further extremity of Kamtshatka; and for the better direction of them, established an academy of sciences at Petersburg. The arts began now to flourish on every side: manufactures were encouraged, the navy was augmented, the army well-provided, and the laws properly enforced. He now enjoyed his glory in full repose; but was desirous of sharing it in a new manner with her who, according to his new declaration, by remedying the disaster of the campaign of Pruth, had been in some measure the instrument of his acquiring that glory.

Accordingly, the coronation of his consort Catharine was performed at Moscow in presence of the duchess of Courland, his eldest brother's daughter, and the duke of Holstein his intended son-in-law †. The declaration which he published on this occasion merits attention: he therein mentions the customs of several Christian princes who had placed the crown on the heads of their consorts, producing instances of the emperors Basilides, Justinus, Heraclius, and Leo the philosopher. He enumerates the services Catharine had done to the state, and in particular in the war against the Turks, where my army, says he, which had been reduced to 22,000 men, had to encounter an enemy above 200,000 strong. He does not say in this declaration that the empress was to succeed to the crown after his death; but this ceremony, which was altogether new and unusual in the Russian empire, was one of those means by which he prepared the minds of his subjects for such an event. Another circumstance that might perhaps furnish a strong-

† May 28, 1724.

er reason to believe that he destined Catharine to succeed him on the throne, was, that he himself marched on foot before her the day of her coronation, as captain of a new company, which he had created under the name of the *knights of the empress*.

When they arrived at the cathedral, Peter himself placed the crown on her head; and when she would have fallen down and embraced his knees, he prevented her; and at their return from the church, caused the scepter and globe to be carried before her. This ceremony was altogether worthy an emperor; for on every public occasion Peter shewed as much pomp and magnificence as he did plainness and simplicity in his private manner of living.

Having thus crowned his spouse, he at length determined to give his eldest daughter Anna Petrowna in marriage to the duke of Holstein. This prince's greatly resembled her father in the face, was very majestic, and of a singular beauty. She was betrothed to the duke of Holstein on the 24th of November 1724, but with very little ceremony. Peter had for some time past found his health greatly impaired, and this, together with some family uneasinesses, that perhaps rather encreased his disorder, which in a short time proved fatal, permitted him to have but very little relish for feasts or public diversions in this latter part of his life.

The empress Catharine had at that time a young man for the chamberlain of her household, whose name was Moens de la Croix, a native of Russia*, but of Flemish parents, remarkable handsome and

* Memoirs of Bassewitz.

genteel. His sister madame de Balc was bed-chamber woman to the empress, and these two had entirely the management of her household. Being both accused of having taken presents, they were sent to prison, and afterwards brought to their trial by express order of the czar; who, by an edict in the year 1714, had forbidden any one holding a place about court to receive any present or other gratuity, on pain of being declared infamous, and suffering death; and this prohibition had been several times renewed.

The brother and sister were found guilty, and received sentence, and all those who had either purchased their services or given them any gratuity in return for the same, were included therein, except the duke of Holstein and his minister count Bassewitz; as it is probable that the presents made by that prince to those who had a share in bringing about his marriage with the czar's daughter were not looked upon in a criminal light.

Moens was condemned to be beheaded, and his sister (who was the empress's favourite) to receive eleven strokes of the knout. The two sons of this lady, one of whom was an officer in the household and the other a page, were degraded, and sent to serve as private soldiers in the army in Persia.

These severities, though they shock our manners, were perhaps necessary in a country where the observance of the laws is to be enforced only by the most terrifying rigour. The empress solicited her favourite's pardon; but the czar, offended at her application, peremptorily refused her, and in the heat of his passion, seeing a fine looking-glass in the apartment, he with one blow of his fist broke it in a thousand pieces; and turning to the empress, "Thus, said he, thou seest I can with

one stroke of my hand reduce this glass to its original dust." Catharine, in a melting accent, replied, "It is true, you have destroyed one of the greatest ornaments of your palace, but do you think the palace is the more charming for its loss?" This answer appeased the emperor's wrath: but all the favour that Catharine could obtain for her bed-chamber woman was, that she should receive only five strokes of the knout instead of eleven.

I should not have related this anecdote, had it not been attested by a public minister, who was eye-witness of the whole transaction, and who, by having made presents to the unfortunate brother and sister, was perhaps himself one of the principal causes of their disgrace and sufferings. It was this affair which emboldened those who judge of every thing in the worst light, to spread the report that Catharine hastened the death of her husband, whose choleric disposition filled her with apprehensions that overweighed the gratitude she owed him for the many favours he had heaped upon her.

These cruel suspicions were confirmed by Catharine's recalling to court her woman of the bed-chamber immediately upon the death of the czar, and re-instating her in her former influence. It is the duty of a historian to relate the public reports which have been circulated in all times in states, on the decease of princes who had been snatched away by a premature death, as if nature was not alone sufficient to put a period to the existence of a crowned head as well as that of a beggar; but it is likewise the duty of an historian to shew how far such reports were rashly or unjustly formed.

There is an immense distance between the momentary discontent which may arise from the morose or harsh behaviour of an husband, and the desperate resolution of poisoning that husband, who is at the same time our sovereign and benefactor in the highest degree. The danger attending such a design would have been as great as it was criminal. Catharine had at that time a powerful party against her, who espoused the cause of the son of the deceased czarowitz. Nevertheless, neither that faction, nor any one about the court, once suspected the czarina; and the vague rumours which were spread on this head, were founded only on the mistaken notions of foreigners, who were very imperfectly acquainted with the affair, and who chose to indulge the wretched pleasure of accusing of heinous crimes those whom they thought interested to commit them. But it was even very doubtful whether this was at all the case with Catharine. It was far from being certain that she was to succeed her husband. She had been crowned indeed, but only in the character of wife to the reigning sovereign, and not as one who was to enjoy the sovereign authority after his death.

Peter in his declaration had only ordered this coronation as a matter of ceremony, and not as conferring a right of governing. He therein only cited the examples of emperors, who had caused their consorts to be crowned, but not on those who had conferred on them the royal authority. In fine, at the very time of Peter's illness, several persons believed that the princess Anna Petrowna would succeed him jointly with her husband the duke of Holstein, or that the czar would nominate his grandson for his successor; therefore, so far from Catherine's being interested in the death of

the emperor, she rather seemed concerned in the preservation of his life.

It is undeniable, that Peter had, for a considerable time, been troubled with an abscess in the bladder, and a stoppage of urine. The minerals waters of Olnitz, and some others, which he had been advised to use, had proved of very little service to him, and he had found himself growing sensibly weaker, ever since the beginning of the year 1724. His labours, from which he would not allow himself any respite, increased his disorder, and hastened his end*: his malady became now more and desperate: he felt burning pains, which threw him into an almost constant delirium. Whenever he had a moment's interval, he endeavoured to write, but he could not only scrawl a few lines that were wholly unintelligible; and it was with the greatest difficulty, that the following words, in the Russian language, could be distinguished, *Let every thing be given to* †—

He then called for the princess Anna Petrowna, in order to dictate to her; but by that time she could come to his bed-side, he had lost his speech, and fell into a fit, which lasted sixteen hours. The empress Catherine did not quit his bed-side for three nights together. At length, he breathed his last in her arms, on the 28th of January, about four o'clock in the morning.

His body was conveyed into the great hall of the palace, accompanied by all the imperial family, the senate, all the principal personages of state, and an innumerable concourse of people. It was there exposed on a bed of state, and every one was permitted to approach and kiss his hand, till the

* Jan. 1725. † MS. memoirs of the count de Bassewitz.

day of his interment, which was on the twenty first of March, 1725, N. S.

It has been thought, and it has been asserted in print, that he had appointed his wife Catharine to succeed him in the empire, by his last will: but the truth is, that he never made any will, or at least none that ever appeared; a most astonishing negligence in so great a legislator, and a proof that he did not think his disorder mortal.

No one knew, at the time of his death, who was to succeed him: he left behind him his grandson Peter, son of the unfortunate Alexis, and his eldest daughter Anne, married to the duke of Holstein. There was a considerable faction in favour of young Peter: but prince Menzikoff, who never had any other interests than those of the empress Catherine, took care to be before-hand with all parties, and their designs; and accordingly, when the czar was upon the point of giving up the ghost, he caused the empress to remove into another apartment of the palace, where all their friends were assembled ready: he had the royal treasures conveyed into the citadel, and secured the guards in his interest, as likewise the archbishop of Novogorod, and then they held a private council, in presence of the empress Catharine, and one Macaroff a secretary, in whom they could confide, at which the duke of Holstein's minister assisted.

At the breaking up of the council, the empress returned to the czar's bed-side, who soon after yielded up the ghost in her arms. As soon as his death was made known, the principal senators and general officers repaired to the palace where the empress made a speech to them, which prince Menzikoff answered in the name of all present. The empress being withdrawn, they proceeded to con-

sider the proper forms to be observed on the occasion, when Theophanes, archbishop of Pleskow, told the assembly, that, on the eve of the coronation of the empress Catharine, the deceased czar had declared to him, that his sole reason for placing the crown on her head was that she might wear it after his death; upon which the assembly unanimously signed the proclamation, and Catharine succeeded her husband on the throne the very day of his death.

Peter the Great was regretted by all those whom he had formed; and the descendants of those who had been sticklers for the ancient customs soon began to look on him as their father. Foreign nations, who have beheld the duration of his establishments, have always expressed the highest admiration for his memory, acknowledging that he was actuated by a more than common prudence and wisdom, and not by a vain desire of doing extraordinary things. All Europe knows, that tho' he was fond of Fame, he coveted it only for noble principles; that tho' he had faults, they never obscured his noble qualities; and that tho', as a man, he was liable to errors, as a monarch he was always great; he every where forced nature, in his subjects, in himself, by sea and land; but he forced her only to render her more pleasing and noble. The arts which he transplanted with his own hands into countries, till then in a manner savage, have flourished, and produced fruits which are lasting testimonies of his genius, and will render his memory immortal. Since they now appear as natives of those places to which he introduced them. The civil, political, and military government, trade, manufactories, the arts and sciences, have all been carried on, according to his plan, and by an event

not to be paralleled in history : we have seen four women successively ascend the throne after him, who have maintained in full vigour, all the great designs he accomplished, and have completed those which he had begun.

The court has undergone some revolutions since his death, but the empire has not suffered one. Its splendor has encreased by Catharine I. It triumphed over the Turks and the Swedes under Anna Petrowna ; and under Elizabeth, it conquered Prussia, and a part of Pomerania ; and lastly, it has tasted the sweets of peace, and has seen the arts flourish in fullness and security in the reign of Catharine the Second.

Let the historians of that nation enter into the minutest circumstances of the new creation, the wars and undertakings of Peter the Great : let them rouse the emulation of their countrymen, by celebrating these heroes who assisted this monarch in his labours, in the field, and in the cabinet. It is sufficient for a stranger, a disinterested admirer of merit, to have endeavoured to set to view that great man, who learned of Charles XII. to conquer him, who twice quitted his dominions, in order to govern them better, who worked with his own hands, in almost all the useful and necessary arts, to set an example of instruction to his people, and who was the founder and the father of his empire.

Princes, who reign over states long since civilized, may say to themselves, " If a man, assisted only by his genius, has been capable of doing such great things in the frozen climes of ancient Scythia, what may not be expected from us, in kingdoms where the accumulated labours of many ages have rendered the way so easy !"

A P P E N D I X:

ORIGINAL PIECES

Relative to this History, agreeable to the Translations made at their first Publication, by Order of Czar Peter I.

S E N T E N C E

Pronounced against the Czarowitz ALEXIS,
June 24th, 1718.

BY virtue of an exprefs ordinance ifſued by his czarish majeſty, and ſigned by his own hand on the 13th of June, for the judgment of the czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz, in relation to his crimes and tranſgreſſions againſt his father and ſovereign the undernamed miniſters and ſenators eſtates military and civil, after having aſſembled ſeveral times in the regency-chamber of the ſenate of Peterſburg, and having heard read the original writings and teſtimonies given againſt the czarowitz, as alſo his majeſty's admonitory letters to that prince, and his anſwers to them in his own writing, and other acts relating to the proceſs, and likewise the criminal informations, declarations, and confeſſions of the czarowitz, partly written with his own hand, and partly delivered by word of mouth to his father and ſovereign, before the ſeveral perſons under named, conſtituted by his czarish majeſty's authority to the effect of the preſent judgment, do acknowledge and declare, that though, according to the laws of the Ruſſian em-

pire, it belongs not to them, the natural subjects of his czarish majesty's sovereign dominions. to take cognizance of an affair of this nature, which for its importance depends solely on the absolute will of the sovereign, whose power unlimited by any law, is deprived from God alone; yet in submission to his ordinance who hath given them this liberty, and after mature reflection, observing the dictates of their consciences without fear, flattery, or respect of persons, having nothing before their eyes but the divine laws applicable to the present case, the canons and rules of councils, the authority of the holy fathers and doctors of the church, and taking also for their rule the instructions of the archbishops and clergy assembled at Petersburg on this occasion, and conforming themselves to the laws and constitutions of this empire which are agreeable to those of other nations, especially the Greeks and Romans, and other Christian princes; they unanimously agreed and pronounced the czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz *to be worthy of death*, for the afore said crimes and capital transgressions against his sovereign and father, he being his czarish majesty's son and subject; and notwithstanding the promise given by his czarish majesty to the czarowitz, in a letter sent by M. Tolstoy and captain Romanzoff, dated from Spaw the 10th of July 1717, to pardon his elopement if he voluntarily returned, as the czarowitz himself acknowledges with gratitude in his answer to that letter dated from Naples the 4th of October 1717, wherein he returns his thanks to his majesty for the pardon he had promised him solely on condition of his speedy and voluntary return; yet he hath forfeited and rendered himself unworthy of that pardon, by renewing and continuing his former transgres-

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sons, as is fully set forth in his majesty's manifesto of the 3d of February in this present year, and for not returning voluntarily and of his own accord.

And although his majesty did, upon the arrival of the czarowitz at Moscow, and his humbly confessing in writing his crimes, and asking pardon for them, take pity on him, as is natural for every father to act towards a son, and at the audience held in the great hall of the castle the said third day of February, did promise him full pardon for all his crimes and transgressions, it was only on condition that he would declare without reserve or restriction on all his designs, and who were his counsellors and abettors therein; but that if he concealed any one person or thing, that in such case the promised pardon should be null and void; which condition the czarowitz did at that time accept and receive with all outward tokens of gratitude and obedience, solemnly swearing on the holy cross and the blessed evangelists, and in the presence of all those assembled at that time and for that purpose in the cathedral church, that he would faithfully, and without reserve, declare the whole truth.

His majesty did also the next day confirm to the czarowitz in writing the said promise, in the interrogatories which hereafter follow, and which his majesty caused to be delivered to him, having first written at the beginning what follows:

"As you did yesterday receive your pardon, on condition that you would confess all the circumstances of your flight, and whatever relates thereto, but if you concealed any part thereof, you should answer for it with your life, and as you have already made some confessions, it is expected of you for our more full satisfaction, and your own safety, to commit the same in writing, in such

order as shall in the course of your examination be printed out to you ”

And at the end, under the seventh question, there was again written with his czarish majesty's own hand,

“ Declare to us, and discover whatever hath any relation to this affair, though it be not here expressed, and clear yourself as it it were at confession; for if you conceal any thing that shall by any other means be afterwards discovered, do not impute the consequence to us. since you have been already told, that in such case the pardon granted you should be null and void.”

Notwithstanding all which the answers and confessions of the czarowitz were delivered without any sincerity; he not only concealing many of his accomplices, but also the capital circumstances relating to his own transgressions, particularly his rebellious design in usurping the throne even in the life-time of his father, flattering himself that the populace would declare in his favour; all which hath since been fully discovered in the criminal process, after he had refused to make a discovery himself, as hath appeared by the above presents.

Thus it hath appeared by the whole conduct of the czarowitz, as well as by the confessions which he both delivered in writing and by word of mouth particularly, that he was not disposed to wait for the succession in the manner in which his father had left it to him after his death, according to equity, and the order of nature which God has established; but intended to take the crown off the head of his father, while living, and set it upon his own, not only by a civil insurrection, but by the assistance of a foreign force, which he had actually requested.

The czarowitz has hereby rendered himself unworthy of the clemency and pardon promised him by the emperor his father ; and since the laws divine and ecclesiastical civil and military, condemn to death without mercy, not only those whose attempts against their father and sovereign have been proved by testimonies and writings ; but even such as have been convicted of an intention to rebel, and of having formed a base design to kill their sovereign, and usurp the throne ; what shall we think of a rebellious design, almost unparalleled in history, joined to that of a horrid parricide, against him who was his father in a double capacity ; a father of great lenity and indulgence, who brought up the czarowitz from the cradle with more than paternal care and tenderness ; who earnestly endeavoured to form him for government. and with incredible pains, and indefatigable application. to instruct him in the military art, and qualify him to succeed to so great an empire ? with how much stronger reason does such a design deserve to be punished with death ?

It is therefore with hearts full of affliction, and eyes streaming with tears, that we, as subjects and servants, pronounce this sentence ; considering that it belongs not to us to give judgment in a case of so great importance, and especially to pronounce against the son of our most precious sovereign lord the czar. Nevertheless, it being his pleasure. that we should act in this capacity, we, by these presents, declare our real opinion, and pronounce this sentence of condemnation with a pure and Christian conscience, as we hope to be able to answer for it at the just, awful, and impartial tribunal of Almighty God.

We submit, however, this sentence, which we now pass, to the sovereign power, the will, and merciful revifal of his czarith majesty, our most gracious sovereign.



The PEACE of NYSTADT.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

BE it known by these presents, that whereas a bloody, long, and expensive war has arisen and subsisted for several years past, between his late majesty king Charles XII. of glorious memory, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, &c. &c. his successors to the throne of Sweden, the lady Ulrica queen of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, &c. and the kingdom of Sweden, on the one part; and between his czarish majesty Peter the first, emperor of all the Russias, &c. and the empire of Russia on the other part; the two powers have thought proper to exert their endeavours to find out means to put a period to those troubles, and prevent the further effusion of so much innocent blood; and it has pleased the Almighty to dispose the hearts of both powers, to appoint a meeting of their ministers plenipotentiary, to treat of, and conclude a firm, sincere and lasting peace, and perpetual friendship between the two powers. their dominions, provinces, countries vassals, subjects and inhabitants; namely, Mr. John Liliensted, one of the most honourable privy-council to his majesty the king of Sweden, his kingdom and chancery, and baron Otto Reinhold Stroemfeld, intendant of the copper-mines and fiefs of Daldars, on the part of his said majesty; and on the part of his czarish majesty, count Jacob Dvornik Bruce, his general adjutant, president of the colleges of mines and manufactories, and knight of the order of St. Andrew and the White Eagle,

and Mr. Henry John Frederic Osterman, one of his said Majesty's privy counsellors in his chancery: which plenipotentiary ministers, being assembled at Nyfadt, and having communicated to each other their respective commissions, and imploring the divine assistance, did enter upon this important and salutary enterprize, and have, by the grace and blessing of God, concluded the following peace between the crown of Sweden and his czarish majesty.

Art. I. **THERE** shall be now and henceforward a perpetual and inviolable peace, sincere union, and indissoluble friendship, between his majesty Frederic the first, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, his successors to the crown and kingdom of Sweden, his dominions, provinces countries, villages, vassals, subjects, and inhabitants, as well within the Roman empire as out of the said empire, on the one side; and his czarish majesty Peter the first, emperor of all the Russias, &c. his successors to the throne of Russia, and all his countries, villages, vassals, subjects, and inhabitants, on the other side; in such wise, that, for the future, neither of the two reconciled powers shall commit, or suffer to be committed, any hostility, either privately or publicly, directly or indirectly, nor shall in any-wise assist the enemies of each other, on any pretext whatever, or contract any alliance with them, that may be contrary to this peace. but shall always maintain and preserve a sincere friendship towards each other, and as much as in them lies support their mutual honour, advantage and safety; as likewise prevent, to the utmost of their power, any injury or vexation with which either of the reconciled parties may be threatened by any other power.

Art. II. It is further mutually agreed upon betwixt the two parties, that a general pardon and act of oblivion for all hostilities committed during the war, either by arms or otherwise, shall be strictly observed, so far as that neither party shall ever henceforth either call to mind, or take vengeance for the same, particularly in regard to persons of state, and subjects who have entered into the service of either of the two parties during the war, and have thereby become enemies to the other, except only the Russian Cossacks, who enlisted in the service of the king of Sweden, and whom his czarish majesty will not consent to have included in the said general pardon, notwithstanding the intercession made for them by the king of Sweden

Art III All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease both here and in the grand duchy of Finland in fifteen days, or sooner, if possible, after the regular exchange of the ratifications; and to this intent the conclusion of the peace shall be published without delay. And in case that, after the expiration of the said term, any hostilities should be committed by either party, either by sea or land, in any manner whatsoever, through ignorance of the conclusion of the peace, such offence shall by no means prejudice the conclusion of the said peace; on the contrary, each shall make a reciprocal exchange of both men and effects that may be taken after the said term.

Art. IV. His majesty the king of Sweden does, by the present treaty, as well for himself as for his successors to the throne and kingdom of Sweden, cede to his czarish majesty, and his successors to the Russian empire, in full, irrevocable and everlasting possession, the provinces which have been taken by the czarish majesty's arms from the crown

of Sweden during this war, viz. Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, and a part of Carelia; as likewise the district of the siefs of Wyburg, specified hereafter in the article for regulating the limits; the towns and fortresses of Riga, Dunamund, Pernau, Revel, Dorpt, Nerva, Wyburg, Kexholm, and the other towns, fortresses, harbours, countries, districts, rivers and coasts belonging to the provinces; as likewise the lands of Oesel, Dagoë, Moen, and all the other islands from the frontiers of Courland, towards the coasts of Livonia, Estonia, and Ingria, and on the east side of Revel, and in the road of Wyburg towards the south east, with all the present inhabitants of those islands, and of the fore-said provinces, towns and countries; and in general, all their appurtenances, dependences, prerogatives, rights, and advantages, without exception, in like manner as the crown of Sweden possessed them.

To which purpose, his majesty the king of Sweden renounces for ever in the most solemn manner, as well for his own part, as for his successors, and for the whole kingdom of Sweden, all pretensions which they have hitherto had, or could have to the said provinces, islands, countries and towns; and all the inhabitants thereof shall, by virtue of these presents, be discharged from the oath of allegiance, which they have taken to the crown of Sweden, in such wise as that his Swedish majesty, and the kingdom of Sweden, shall never hereafter either claim or demand the same, on any pretence whatsoever; but, on the contrary, they shall be and remain incorporated for ever into the empire of Russia. Moreover, his Swedish majesty, and the kingdom of Sweden, promise by these presents to assist and support from henceforth his czarish ma-

jeſty, and his ſucceſſors to the empire of Ruſſia, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſaid provinces, iſlands, countries and towns, and that they will find out and deliver up to the perſons authorized by his czarith majeſty for that purpoſe, all the records and papers principally belonging to thoſe places, which have been taken away and carried into Sweden during the war.

Art. V. His czarith majeſty, in return, promiſes to evacuate and reſtore to his Swediſh majeſty, and the kingdom of Sweden, within the ſpace of four weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or ſooner if poſſible, the grand duchy of Finland, except on'y that part thereof which has been reſerved by the following regulation of the limits which ſhall belong to his czarith majeſty, ſo that his ſaid czarith majeſty, and his ſucceſſors, never ſhall have or bring the leaſt claim or demand on the ſaid duchy, on any pretence whatever. His czarith majeſty further declares and promiſes, that certain and prompt payment of two millions of crowns ſhall be made without any diſcount to the deputies of the king of Sweden, on condition that they produce and give ſufficient receipts, as agreed upon; and the ſaid payment ſhall be made in ſuch coin as ſhall be agreed upon by a ſeparate article which ſhall be of equal force as if inſerted in the body of this treaty.

Art. VI. His majeſty the king of Sweden does further reſerve to himſelf, in regard to trade, the liberty of buying corn, yearly at Riga, Revel and Arensburg, to the amount of fifty thouſand rubles which corn ſhall be transported from thence into Sweden, without paying duty or any other taxes, on producing a certificate, ſhewing that ſuch corn has been purchaſed for the uſe of his Swediſh ma-

jeſty, or by his ſubjects, charged with the care of making this purchaſe by his ſaid majeſty; and ſuch right ſhall not be ſubject to, or depend on any exigency, wherein his czarish majeſty may find it neceſſary, either on account of a bad harveſt, or ſome other important reaſons, to prohibit in general the exportation of corn to any other nation.

Art VII His czarish majeſty does alſo promiſe, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he will in no wiſe interfere with the affairs of the kingdom of Sweden, nor with the form of government, which has been regulated and eſtabliſhed by the oath of allegiance and unanimous conſent of the ſtates of ſaid kingdom; neither will he aſſiſt therein any perſon whatever, in any manner, directly or indirectly; but, on the contrary, will endeavour to hinder and prevent any diſturbance happening, provided his czarish majeſty has timely notice of the ſame, who will on all ſuch occasions act as a ſincere friend and good neighbour to the crown of Sweden.

Art. VIII. And as they mutually intend to eſtabliſh a firm, ſincere and laſting peace to which purpoſe it is very neceſſary to regulate the limits ſo, that neither of the parties can harbour any jealousy, but that each ſhall peaceably poſſeſs whatever has been ſurrendered to him by this treaty of peace, they have thought proper to declare that the two empires ſhall from henceforth and for ever have the following limits, beginning on the northern coaſt of the Bothnic gulf, near Wickolax, from whence they ſhall extend to within half a league of the ſea-coaſt inland, and from the diſtance of half a league from the ſea as far as oppoſite to Willayoki, and from thence further inland; ſo that from the ſea-side, and oppoſite to Rohel, there

shall be a distance of about three quarters of a league in a direct line, to the road which leads from Wiburg to Lapstrand, at three miles distance from Wiburg, and which proceeds the same distance of three leagues towards the north by Wiburg, in a direct line to the former limits between Russia and Sweden, even before the reduction of the district of Kexholm under the government of the king of Sweden. Those ancient limits extend eight leagues towards the north, from thence they run in a direct line through the district of Kexholm, to the place where the harbour of Porogerai, which begins near the town of Kudumagube, joins to the ancient limits between Russia and Sweden; so that his majesty the king, and kingdom of Sweden, shall henceforth possess all that part lying west and north beyond the above specified limits, and his czarish majesty and the empire of Russia all that part which is situated east and south of the said limits. And as his czarish majesty surrenders from henceforth to his Swedish majesty and the kingdom of Sweden, a part of the district of Kexholm, which belonged heretofore to the empire of Russia, he promises, in the most solemn manner in regard to himself and successors to the throne of Russia, that he never will make any future claim to this said district of Kexholm, on any account whatever, but the said district shall hereafter be and remain incorporated into the kingdom of Sweden. As to the limits in the country of Lappmarque, they shall remain on the same footing as they were before the beginning of this war between the two empires. It is further agreed upon, that commissaries shall be appointed by each party, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, to regulate the limits as aforesaid.

Art. IX. His czarish majesty further promises to maintain all the inhabitants of the provinces of Livonia, Estonia and Oesel, as well nobles as plebeians, and the towns, magistrates, companies, and trades, in the full enjoyment of the same privileges customs and prerogatives which they have enjoyed under the dominion of his Swedish majesty.

Art. X. There shall not hereafter be any violence offered to the consciences of the inhabitants of the ceded countries; on the contrary, his czarish majesty engages on his side to preserve and maintain the evangelical religion on the same footing as under the Swedish government, provided likewise there is a free liberty of conscience allowed to those of the Greek religion

Art. XI. In regard to the reductions and liquidations made in the reign of the late king of Sweden in Livonia, Estonia, and Oesel, to the great injury of the subjects and inhabitants of those countries, which, conformable to the justice of the affair in question, obliged his late majesty the king of Sweden, of glorious memory, to promise, by an ordinance, which was published the 13th day of April 1760 that if any one of his subjects could fairly prove, that the goods which had been confiscated were their property, justice should be done them, whereby several subjects of the said countries have had such their confiscated effects restored to them; his czarish majesty engages and promises, that justice shall be done to every person, whether residing or not, who has a just claim or pretension to his lands in Livonia, Estonia, or the province of Oesel, and can make full proof thereof, and that such person shall be reintituted in the possession of his lands and effects.

Art. XII. There shall likewise be immediate restitution made, conformable to the general amnesty regulated and agreed by the second article, to such of the inhabitants of Livonia, Estonia and the island of Oesel, who may during this war have joined the king of Sweden, together with all their effects, lands, and houses, which have been confiscated and given to others, as well in the towns of these provinces, as in those of Nerva and Wiburg, notwithstanding they may have passed during the said war by inheritance or otherwise into other hands, without any exception or restraint, even though the proprietors should be actually in Sweden, either as prisoners or otherwise; and such restitution shall take place as soon as each person is re-naturalized by his respective government, and produces his documents relating to his right; on the other hand, these proprietors shall by no means lay claim to, or pretend to any part of, the revenues which may have been received by those who were in possession in consequence of the confiscation, nor to any other compensation for their losses in the war or otherwise. And all persons, who are thus put in re-possession of their effects and lands, shall be obliged to do homage to his czarish majesty, their present sovereign, and further to behave themselves as faithful vassals and subjects; and when they have taken the usual oath of allegiance, they shall be at liberty to leave their own country to go and live in any other, which is in alliance and friendship with the Russian Empire, as also to enter into the service of neutral powers, or to continue therein if already engaged as they shall think proper. On the other hand, in regard to those, who do not chuse to do homage to his czarish majesty, they shall be allowed the space of

three years from the publication of the peace, to sell or dispose of their effects, lands, and all belonging to them, to the best advantage, without paying any more than is paid by every other person, agreeable to the laws and statutes of the country, And if hereafter it shall happen that an inheritance shall devolve to any person according to the laws of the country, and that such person shall not as yet have taken the oath of allegiance to his czarish majesty he shall in such case be obliged to take the same at the time of entering on the possession of his inheritance, otherwise to sell off all his effects in the space of one year

Also those who have advanced money on lands in Livonia, Estonia, and the island of Oesel, and have lawful security for the same, shall enjoy their mortgages peaceably, until both capital and interests are discharged: on the other hand, the mortgagees shall not claim any interests which expired during the war, and which have not been demanded or paid; but those who in either of these cases have the administration of the said effects, shall be obliged to do homage to his czarish majesty. This likewise extends to all those who remain in his czarish majesty's dominions, and who shall have the same liberty to dispose of their effects in Sweden, and in those countries which have been surrendered to that crown by this peace. Moreover the subjects of each of the reconciled powers shall be mutually supported in all their lawful claims and demands, whether on the public, or on individuals within the dominions of either of the two powers, and immediate justice shall be done them, so that every person may be reinstated in the possession of what justly belongs to him.

Art. X^{II}. All contributions in money shall from the signing of this treaty cease in the grand duchy of Finland, which his czarish majesty by the fifth article of this treaty cedes to his Swedish majesty and the kingdom of Sweden: on the other hand, the duchy of Finland shall furnish his czarish majesty's troops with the necessary provisions and forage *gratis*, until they shall have entirely evacuated the said duchy, on the same footing as has been practised heretofore; and his czarish majesty shall prohibit and forbid, under the severest penalties, the dislodging any ministers or peasants of the Finnish nation, contrary to their inclinations, or that the least injury be done to them. In consideration of which, and as it will be permitted his czarish majesty, upon evacuating the said countries and towns, to take with him his great and small cannon, with their carriages and other appurtenances, and the magazines and other warlike stores which he shall think fit; the inhabitants shall furnish a sufficient number of horse and waggons as far as the frontiers: and also if the whole of this cannot be executed according to the stipulated terms, and that any part of such artillery, &c is necessitated to be left behind, then, and in such cases, that which is so left shall be properly taken care of, and afterwards delivered to his czarish majesty's deputies, whenever it shall be agreeable to them, and likewise be transported to the frontiers in manner as above. If his czarish majesty's troops shall have found and sent out of the country any deeds or papers belonging to the grand duchy of Finland, strict search shall be made for the same, and all of them that can be found shall be faithfully restored to deputies of his Swedish majesty.

Art. XIV. All the prisoners on each side, of whatsoever nation, rank, and condition, shall be set at liberty immediately after the ratification of this treaty, without any ransom; at the same time every prisoner shall either pay or give sufficient security for the payment of all debts by them contracted. The prisoners on each side shall be furnished with the necessary horses and waggons *gratis* during the time allotted for their return home, in proportion to the distance from the frontiers. In regard to such prisoners who shall have sided with one or the other party, or who shall chuse to settle in the dominions, of either of the two powers, they shall have full liberty so to do without restriction: and this liberty shall likewise extend to all those who have been compelled to serve either party during the war, who may in like manner remain where they are, or return home; except such who have voluntarily embraced the Greek religion, in compliance to his czarish majesty; for which purpose each party shall order that the edicts be published and make known in their respective dominions

Art. XV. His majesty the king, and the republic of Poland, as allies to his czarish majesty, are expressly comprehended in this treaty of peace, and have equal right thereto, as if the treaty of peace between them and the crown of Sweden had been inserted here at full length; to which purpose all hostilities whatsoever shall cease in general throughout all the kingdoms, countries, and patrimonies belonging to the two reconciled parties, whether situated within or out of the Roman empire, and there shall be a solid and lasting peace established between the two foresaid powers. And as no plenipotentiary on the part of his Polish ma-

jeſty and the republic of Poland has aſſiſted at this treaty of peace held at Nyſtadt, and that conſequently they could not at one and the ſame time renew the peace by a ſolemn treaty between his majeſty the king of Poland and the crown of Sweden; his majeſty the king of Sweden does therefore engage and promiſe, that he will ſend plenipotentiaries to open the conferences, ſo ſoon as a place ſhall be appointed for the ſaid meeting, in order to conclude, through the mediation of his czariſh majeſty, a laſting peace between the two crowns, provided nothing is therein contained which may prejudicial to this treaty of perpetual peace made with his czariſh majeſty.

Art. XVI. A free trade ſhall be regulated and eſtabliſhed as ſoon as poſſible, which ſhall ſubſiſt both by ſea and land between the two powers, their dominions, ſubjects and inhabitants by means of a ſeparate treaty on this head, to the good and advantage of their reſpective dominions; and in the mean time the ſubjects of Ruſſia and Sweden ſhall have leave to trade freely in the empire of Ruſſia and the kingdom of Sweden, ſo ſoon as the treaty of peace is ratified, after paying the uſual duties on the ſeveral kinds of merchandiſe; ſo that the ſubjects of Ruſſia and Sweden ſhall reciprocally enjoy the ſame privileges and prerogatives as are enjoyed by the cloſeſt friends of either of the ſaid ſtates.

Art. XVII. Reſtitution ſhall be made on both ſides, after the ratification of the peace, not only of the magazines which were before the commencement of the war eſtabliſhed in certain trading towns belonging to the two powers, but alſo liberty ſhall be reciprocally granted to the ſubjects of his czariſh majeſty and the king of Sweden, to

establish magazines in the towns, harbours, and other places subject to both or either of the said powers.

Art. XVIII. If any Swedish ships of war or merchant vessels shall have the misfortune to be wrecked, or cast away by fires of weathen, or any other accident, on the coasts and harbours of Russia, his czarish majesty's subjects shall be obliged to give them all aid and assistance in their power to save their rigging and effects, and faithfully to restore whatever may be drove on shore, if demanded, provided they are properly rewarded. And the subjects of his majesty the king of Sweden shall do the same in regard to such Russian ships and effects as may have the misfortune to be wrecked or otherwise lost on the coast of Sweden: for which purpose, and to prevent all ill treatment, robbing and plundering, which commonly happens on such melancholy occasions, his czarish majesty and the king of Sweden will cause a most rigorous prohibition be issued, and all who shall be found transgressing in this point shall be punished on the spot.

Art. XIX. And to prevent all possible cause or occasion of misunderstanding between the two parties, in relation to sea-affairs, they have concluded and determined, that any Swedish ships of war, of whatever number or size, that shall hereafter pass by any of his czarish majesty's forts or castles, shall salute the same with their cannon, which compliment shall be directly returned in the same manner by the Russian fort or castle; and *vice versa*, any Russian ships of war, of whatever number or size that shall hereafter pass by any fort or castle belonging to his Swedish majesty, shall salute the same with a discharge of their cannon, which compliment shall be instantly returned in the same man-

ner by the Swedish fort; and in case any one or more Swedish and Russian ships shall meet at sea, or in an harbour, or elsewhere, they shall salute each other with a common discharge, as is usually practised on such occasions between the ships of Sweden and Denmark.

Art XX It is mutually agreed between on both sides, no longer to defray the expences of the ministers of the two powers, as has been done hitherto; but their respective ministers plenipotentiaries, and envoys, shall hereafter defray their own expences and those of their own attendants, as well on their journey, as during their stay, and back to their respective place of residence. On the other hand, either of the two parties, on receiving timely notice of the arrival of an envoy, shall order that their subjects give them all the assistance that may be necessary to escort them safe on their journey.

Art XXI His majesty the king of Sweden does on his part comprehend his majesty the king of Great Britain in this treaty of peace reserving only the differences subsisting between their czarish and his Britannic majesties, which they shall immediately endeavour to terminate in a friendly manner; and such other powers, who shall be named by the two reconciled parties within the space of three months, shall likewise be included in this treaty of peace.

Art XXII. In case any misunderstanding shall hereafter arise between the states and subjects of Sweden and Russia it shall by no means prejudice this treaty of perpetual peace; which shall nevertheless always be and remain in full force agreeable to its intent, and commissaries shall without delay be appointed on each side to enquire into and adjust all disputes.

Art. XXIII. All those who have been guilty of high treason, murder, theft, and other crimes, and those who deserted from Sweden to Russia, and from Russia to Sweden, either singly or with their wives and children, shall be immediately sent back, provided the complaining party of the country, from whence they made their escape, shall think fit to recal them, let them be of what nation soever, and in the same condition as they were at their arrival, together with their wives and children, as likewise with all they had stolen, plundered, or taken away with them in their flight.

Art. XXIV. The exchange of the ratifications of this treaty of peace, shall be reciprocally made at Nystadt within the space of three weeks after the day of signing the same, or sooner if possible. In witness whereof, two copies of this treaty, exactly corresponding with each other, have been drawn up, and confirmed by the plenipotentiary ministers on each side, in virtue of the authority they have received from their respective sovereigns; which copies they have signed with their own hands, and sealed with their own seals. Done at Nystadt, this 30th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1721. O. S.

Jeon Liliensted.
Otto Reinhold Sroemfeld.
Jacob Daniel Bruce.
Henry John Frederic Osterman.

Ordinance of the EMPEROR PETER I.

For the Crowning of the Empress CATHARINE.

WE Peter the First, emperor and sole monarch of all the Russias, &c. to all our officers, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, and all others of the Russian nation, our faithful subjects.

No one can be ignorant that it has been a constant and invariable custom among the monarchs of all Christian states, to cause their consorts to be crowned, and that the same is at present practised, and hath frequently been in former times by those emperors who professed the holy faith of the Greek church; to wit, by the emperor Basilides, who caused his wife Zenobia to be crowned; the emperor Justinian, his wife Lucipina; the emperor Heraclius, his wife Martina; the emperor Leo, the philosopher, his wife Mary; and many others, who have in like manner placed the imperial crown on the head of their consorts, and whom it would be too tedious here to enumerate.

It is also well known to every one how much we have exposed our person, and faced the greatest dangers, for the good of our country, during the one and twenty years course of the late war, which we have by the assistance of God terminated in so honourable and advantageous a manner, that Russia hath never beheld such a peace, nor ever acquired so great glory as in the late war. Now the empress Catharine, our dearly beloved wife, having greatly comforted and assisted us during the war, as also in several other our expeditions, wherein she voluntarily and chearfully accompanied us, assisting us with her counsel and

advice in every exigence, notwithstanding the weakness of her sex particularly in the battle against the Turks on the banks of the river Pruth, wherein our army was reduced to 20,000 men, while the Turks amounted to 270,000. and on which desperate occasion she signalized herself in a particular manner, by a courage and pretence of mind superior to her sex, which is well known to all our army, and to the whole Russian empire: Therefore, for these reasons, and in virtue of the power which God has given us, we have resolved to honour our said consort Catharine with the imperial crown, as a reward for her painful services; and we propose, God willing, that this ceremony shall be performed the ensuing winter at Moscow. And we do hereby give notice of this our resolution to all our faithful subjects, in favour of whom our imperial affection is unalterable.

F I N I S.



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